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Serreqi on 'National Question,' Foreign Policy

AU0701204893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Report by Arben Karapici]

[Text] Liberated from the schemes and ideological prejudices of the past, the foreign policy of our democratic government and diplomacy of the Albanian State have concentrated on the national question and further assistance in realizing the transition from dictatorship to democracy, said Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi at today's news conference.

He said that we are continuing the administrative reform along with these primary duties. The ratio between the internal situation and international factors continues to be at the center of our activity, which is why our goals are so dimensional. Along with our goals for integration into Europe, we plan to help more with global problems.

Concerning regional policy in the Balkans, Minister Serreqi said that our diplomacy aims to achieve an anti-Milosevic coalition. Meanwhile, we will continue to pay proper attention to bilateral relations.

On the other hand, the foreign minister discussed membership into the Islamic Conference, stressing that this does not constitute a change of focus in Albania's foreign policy. It is important to exploit all opportunities for our national question. The Albanian national question should be considered as a whole. It cannot be solved without having a safe and powerful Albanian State. The foreign minister emphasized that the international factor should be also considered. Our duty now is to avoid the war and bloodshed in Kosovo. The status of Kosovo should be discussed later. It is important that the Kosovo problem has managed to be internationalized, and this constitutes a great success in our foreign policy.

Serreqi later spoke about Albanian-Greek relations, which have been considered positive and negative in the past. These relations must be handled very carefully, as there are problems that need to be discussed. Our first demand is to legitimatize our emigrants in Greece. Regarding their status, our foreign minister said that it will be included on the agenda of a joint working commission.

At today's news conference, Minister Alfred Serreqi also discussed the Cam question. Concerning Cam properties, he said that the Greek side has pledged a commitment. The foreign minister stressed that we not only seek a financial compensation from the Greek Government; regarding Cam properties in Greece, we should also consider the owner's desire to administrate them himself. We also ask the Greek Government to maintain a stance against the anti-Albanian activity of the chauvinistic Vorioepiriot circles.

Assembly Deputies Discuss 1993 Agenda

AU0701155093 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 7 (ATA)—Following the new year holidays, the People's Assembly resumed its proceedings on January 6 before noon. The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Pjeter Arbnori, presented the deputies with the work program for January. The draft laws on accountancy, the status of the invalid of the Antifascist War of the Albanian people, the labor collective contract, the religious communities and organisations, etc., will be discussed among other things. The People's Assembly will also discuss the draft law on some changes to the Law on the Penal Code and an interpellation with the director general of Radio-Television will also be conducted during January.

Then, the deputy of Pogradec District and chairman of the Commission of Economy and Finances, Jemin Gjana, demanded in his speech that those responsible for the destructions in the cities of Pogradec, Lushnje, and Fushe-Arrez be found and punished. He demanded that the heads of the state control service, the Ministry of Public Order, the National Informative Service, the Ministry of Defence, and Attorney General's Office be summoned to a special parliamentary commission to explain the crimes committed in the cities of Pogradec, Lushnje, and Fushe-Arrez. He also demanded that a joint control group be set up to carry out investigations and find the real culprits of the criminal acts committed in these three cities.

The heads of the parliamentary groups of the Democratic Party, Socialist Party, and Social Democratic Party and many deputies expressed themselves in favour of this proposal and this question was on the agenda of the People's Assembly.

Then the deputies expressed their worries and of the electorate they represent. They demanded that the new constitution be approved as soon as possible, that the draft law on the return of properties, the draft law on the opening of files be presented to the parliament. They also demanded that the fight against corruption be intensified and a special plenary sitting on the deputies' treatment be conducted. They also demanded that the draft law on the status of the political persecuted ones, the draft laws on the status of the reporters, writers, etc., be presented to the parliament.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Pjeter Arbnori, said among other things that the Assembly has issued 98 laws within less than 6 months and has analysed many problems, making them known to the public opinion and state organisations.

The Assembly will continue its proceedings in plenary sitting on January 11.

Cabinet Approves Chemical Weapons Ban Convention

AU0701205993 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today approved the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction, which was adopted by a resolution of the UN General Assembly of November 30, 1992 co-sponsored by Bulgaria. It was decided that Prof. Lyuben Berov, prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, will sign this important document for Bulgaria.

Bulgaria does not develop, produce or possess chemical weapons. No chemical weapons possessed or controlled by any other state are deployed on Bulgarian territory.

Zhelev Comments on Military Issues

AU0701151693 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 31 Dec 92 pp 1, 4

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Georgi Kardanov; place and date not given: "The Army Is a Factor of Internal Stability, a Guarantor of Bulgaria's Democratization and Territorial Integrity"]

[Text] [Kardanov] Mr. President, how do you view the role of the Bulgarian Army in the context of the democratic changes proceeding in our country?

[Zhelev] The role of a country's armed forces can be assessed in the domestic policy and foreign policy contexts.

In regard to domestic policy, the role of the Army is determined by our national aspiration that the Army should assert itself as a nonpartisan and nationwide institution rather than be exploited for political purposes in any way whatsoever.

The reaction of military personnel to the depoliticization and departization act showed that our officers and non-commissioned officers have accepted its principles readily. They demonstrated their firm resolve to support the democratic process and to be guarantors of internal stability and peaceful change.

This particular approach by the Army to the democratic changes under way should be appreciated by all political groups, and no re-politicization of the Armed Forces whatsoever should be allowed to occur.

In this connection, and in exercising my constitutional rights and obligations as the supreme commander in chief, I have warned that Army personnel who participate in such re-politicization efforts shall be dismissed, regardless of rank or post.

The democratic changes also radically influenced Army activities in regard to foreign policy. Professional contacts with the armed forces of several democratic states and international organizations were established within a short period of time and are developing successfully. Several treaties and agreements on military cooperation were signed. Our Army representatives are welcomed with respect and confidence at NATO headquarters and by the general staffs of numerous NATO members, including those of our neighbors, where Bulgarian military officials are welcomed with particular friendliness. Bulgarian officers are already being trained in the United States, France, and Germany. The Army strictly observes international treaties on security and confidence building measures and on the reduction of conventional weapons.

As a matter of fact, the Army has demonstrated quite remarkable diplomatic skills. Paying a well-deserved tribute to our politicians, I cannot overlook the fact that the Defense Ministry and General Staff, through their consistent efforts, deserve equal credit in transforming our borders with Turkey and Greece from a zone of confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO into an area of peace and stability in less than two years, which contributes to stability throughout Europe.

The democratic changes in our country permitted us to send a military contingent to participate in international peacekeeping missions. It is true the deployment of a Bulgarian battalion under the UN flag in Cambodia also revealed certain shortcomings regarding selection of the staff, training, and supplies. Nevertheless, such negative aspects should not discourage our aspiration to be a worthy partner with other states in international efforts aimed at preserving peace and strengthening international security and stability.

All these domestic and international changes created the new image of the Bulgarian Army. It has turned into a respected, nonpartisan national institution. It has become a contributor to domestic stability and a guarantor for the irreversible nature of the democratic changes. Our Armed Forces are ready to protect the national interests and to defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity.

[Kardanov] How would you describe the final objective and importance of the military reform, and how can the present difficulties with implementation be overcome?

[Zhelev] Following the democratic changes which occurred in Europe and all over the rest of the world, and after the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the establishment of new inter-state relations, a new situation and new security priorities emerged. The goal of military reform is to adjust the Armed Forces to the new military-political situation so that they will be capable of carrying out their new mission. The reform is based on a new doctrine of national security and should be implemented in conformance with the plan drafted by the Defense Ministry and the General Staff. The military reform encompasses all sectors and levels of the Armed Forces. It involves all structural, organizational, technical, scientific, and military-educational aspects of Army life, namely all aspects related to the training and daily activities of the Army, which, in the final

accounting, culminate in the readiness to carry out the fundamental duties in case of necessity. Accordingly, the changes should be implemented both from the qualitative and the quantitative points of view. The great diversity of processes related to the reform makes it impossible to implement them at one stroke or through short-term measures. It is evident, and circumstances require, that the process be implemented in realistic and predictable stages in keeping with the financial and military-technical resources in order to guarantee consistent implementation of the reform based on national priorities.

I can assure you that as early as the moment of adopting the reform blueprint for the Army, we did not fail to foresee the difficulties and problems likely to emerge during implementation. They are related to the following four areas: politics, economics, daily life, and purely military factors. Nevertheless, the following factors should be stressed in trying to overcome these problems:

—Consensus between the political forces, society as a whole, and the state institutions should prevail on questions related to defense and the Armed Forces;

—Foreign political guarantees for national security during the period of implementing the reform should be provided;

—Establishment of a national security institution grounded in law, which should conform with the current circumstances in the country and encompass the defense authorities and the Army.

—Stable economic conditions and the mobilization of all state and social sources for the comprehensive implementation of the military reform are required.

As I have pointed out on several occasions, we should keep in mind that the military reform should not be implemented at the expense of weakening combat readiness and the capability for defense, nor should any social tensions between the families of military personnel and the rest of society be allowed to develop.

As far as the achievements of the General Staff and the Armed Forces branches in implementing the reform are concerned, they should by no means be the subject of doubt. Everything was planned and drafted accurately. Their efforts were highly appreciated by the government and numerous military experts.

The implementation of the military reform is impossible without solid legislation, the most important element being the bill on defense and the Armed Forces. Now that the bill has been submitted to the National Assembly at last, I would like to insist again that it be discussed and adopted on a priority basis.

[Kardanov] Is your forecast optimistic about the solution of the social problems suffered by military personnel, and what would you wish the Bulgarian Army on the eve of 1993?

[Zhelev] The system of remuneration for civil servants, including military personnel, is one of the numerous anachronisms we inherited from the former regime.

It is quite unnatural to spend billions of leva for weapons, equipment, and training, while the people in charge of using and maintaining such elaborate technology are not adequately paid for their efforts.

I am glad that in promoting the openness of military life through our joint efforts, we discovered that the rumor about Army officers allegedly being "moneybags" turned out to be mere myth.

Nevertheless, if we should examine the question in its greater context, we will find out that it is far more complicated. On the one hand, in a democratic society and under the conditions of a free market economy, every individual is entitled to choose his profession according to his natural inclinations, talents, opportunities, and personal preferences. In doing so, he is freely deciding on his future place in public life. On the other hand, society, through its organizations and structures, should determine the priorities of several basic socially useful occupations in order to guarantee the security of the state and the normal functioning of the national regenerative processes. This is a question of policy, traditions, and opportunities, but also of ethical standards. It is well-known that military personnel are not on the lists of those who earn the highest incomes. We should also keep in mind that the spouses of officers are usually housewives and that officers are periodically posted to different garrisons, far from their parents and close relatives. Such factors reduce the real incomes of military families and increase their expenditures. As a matter of fact, the true financial situation of our military personnel is more difficult than it appears from the abstract figures published in official statistical reports. For this reason, I am convinced that the state and our society still owe something to the military personnel and their families.

The government is aware of these circumstances, and you can see for yourselves that we have adopted measures aimed at improving the social situation of our military personnel. Such measures conform with the current state of our economic resources and I am convinced that the forthcoming bill on defense and the Armed Forces and other legal documents which are expected to be adopted in the near future will create a solid basis for a better solution to all such problems.

As far as my New Year wishes are concerned, I would like to begin by pointing out that all of our troops should assess objectively the situation in Europe, in the Balkans, and in our own country. They should mobilize their own efforts and the efforts of their subordinates to exploit all opportunities to maintain the requisite level of combat readiness and contribute to the implementation of the main mission of the Armed Forces—namely, protection of Bulgarian sovereignty and territorial integrity.

I wish health, prosperity, and happiness to all of our military personnel and their families. Let 1993 be a better year than past ones. Happy New Year!

New Defense Minister Views Army Reforms

AU0701185893 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Army is coming under heavy pressure from the foreign intelligence services, the new Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov told a news conference today. One of the foremost priorities of the ministry's new leadership is to reactivate Bulgarian Military Counterintelligence, he said.

Mr. Aleksandrov identified the ministry's key mission as carrying on the reform in the Bulgarian Army. The new minister intends to restore the principle of officer personnel rotation, which was abandoned by the communist regime in Bulgaria after the example of Russia. Officers should have equal opportunities to prosper in their career. Rank-and-file servicemen who have showed their excellence should be promoted to positions of responsibility in military intelligence and military diplomacy which, under communism, were privileges limited to a certain category of officers, he said.

The combat training of the Bulgarian Army is in a serious crisis, Mr. Aleksandrov said. In order to upgrade it, small units should enhance their combat capability, tapping the experience of Israel and other countries, the defence minister said.

Restoring and invigorating the international contacts of the Defence Ministry is another top priority of the new leadership. Mr. Aleksandrov said that he intends to visit Russia, Israel and Turkey by late January and early February.

Mr. Aleksandrov counts on the support of the parliamentary and extraparliamentary political forces and is planning to establish steady contacts with them.

According to the new defence minister, the Bulgarian Army has a serious problem with the few candidates for enrollment in the higher military schools. It is due to the present low prestige of military education and military career. To solve this problem, military schools should be granted the same status as civilian ones, he said. The new minister intends to propose the establishment of a National Security School to conduct three-month training courses for high-ranking military, civilians holding military positions, diplomats, journalists and intelligence agents.

Mr. Aleksandrov told BTA that he had no information that Turkey has officially asked Bulgaria to allow Turkish troops passage across Bulgarian territory for intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina, thus confirming the denial issued by former Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov yesterday.

Cabinet Streamlines Arms Sales Commission

AU0701210493 Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today considered Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov's proposal for specific action to improve and raise the efficiency of the operation of the government commission controlling the production and trade in military and special-purpose supplies.

In order to simplify the license issuing procedure, the Council of Ministers made a decision on the future work of the commission. It will go on operating according to the established procedure until the end of January.

A team of experts, including representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Justice and Defence, the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, the General Customs Directorate and the secretary of the government commission, will have until January 20 to submit to the Council of Ministers a draft decree creating the appropriate prerequisites for a simplified license issuing procedure. The same team was give until February 15 to draft and submit to the Council of Ministers a bill on the control of the production and trade in military and special-purpose supplies.

The Defence Ministry believes that license issuing should be institutionalized, that a state body ranking as a committee should be established, independent of the interested parties: manufacturers, traders and politicians. The head of this department should be the license issuing authority, and supervision should be exercised by the high-ranking government and parliament officials.

Finance Minister Aleksandrov Outlines Intentions

AU0701210393 Sofia BTA in English 1728 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The newly elected finance minister, Mr. Stoyan Aleksandrov, set forth his intentions before the press today. "The 1993 inflation will not be lower than in 1992, i.e. about 80 percent. The cash budget deficit amounted to 17,000 million—18,000 million leva in 1992, i.e. about 6.3 percent of the gross domestic product. About half of the trade turnover is unaccounted and thus escapes untaxed. From a financial point of view, the newly elected cabinet faces a difficult start, harder than what Filip Dimitrov's administration confronted. From a psychological point of view, however, we are in a more advantageous position. The cabinet should not be expected to seek an arrangement with the IMF at any cost (I mean a one-year stand-by arrangement since speaking of a three-year one is already absurd). If we are convinced that Bulgaria needs a larger budget deficit than the one set by the IMF and they are reluctant to make concessions, then we will go for the lesser evil," Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov told a news conference after today's cabinet meeting.

The Finance Ministry's top priority will be to tighten tax discipline in Bulgaria, according to Mr. Aleksandrov.

The government will prioritize the bills on tax administration, tax proceedings, value added tax and gambling which have yet to be debated in parliament.

The finance minister promised the press that he would close down every single foundation which had not paid its taxes and excise duties if he should stay in office. "Sapio, for instance, owes some 900 million leva to the Exchequer at the moment, the finance minister said. Trouble is brewing around the St. Pantaleymon Foundation and the academic foundations. There is hardly a foundation that is not involved in shady deals with cigarettes or alcohol," Mr. Aleksandrov added.

The 1993 budget bill is the most important problem which the finance minister faces now. It will probably be drafted by March, Mr. Aleksandrov said. The lack of agreements with the London and the Paris Clubs of Bulgaria's creditors along with the uncertainty as to whether Bulgaria will service its debt in 1993 or not raise additional obstacles. "Things are not going well with Bulgaria's creditors," the finance minister believes.

Mr. Aleksandrov stressed that, in his view, private business need not be granted any further preferences. "Preferences will not lead us anywhere," he said. "Besides, the private sector has already received enough preferences: the entire income earmarked for reinvestment is exempt from taxes. It was for this policy that Bulgaria was criticized by the IMF and Operation PHARE experts."

Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov expects the forthcoming talks with the IMF mission, scheduled to start on January 14, to be very tough.

Interior Minister Cites 'Menacing' Crime Figures

AU0701210293 Sofia BTA in English 1939 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The new Interior Minister Colonel Viktor Mikhaylov told a news conference today that crime in this country is assuming menacing proportions.

Colonel Mikhaylov, who was director of the National Police Force before he accepted the interior portfolio in Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet, said that nearly 202,000 criminal offenses were committed in Bulgaria between January and November 1992. Merely 1 percent of the perpetrators have been brought to trial so far.

In 1992 the police recorded 1,000 murders, 10,000 robberies and 102,000 thefts of personal and public property. Criminals are getting increasingly daring and attack police officers. Colonel Mikhaylov said that three policemen had been killed and 11 severely injured in the 42 assaults on policemen recorded so far.

The Interior Ministry, the police and the fire service still lack laws specifying the powers and obligations of the law enforcement authorities, there is no law regulating the use of surveillance, the Law on Combating the Anti-Social Behaviour of Minors is inoperative, there is no law on the organization of law courts, and the amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure denied police the chance to gather evidence, the interior minister said.

Colonel Mikhaylov said he conferred with Justice Minister Misho Vulchev and with Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev yesterday. The three decided to form tomorrow a working group which should meet on Monday to start working out a concept of the criminal law policy in crime control.

Council Curbs Interior Minister's Powers

AU0701142193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] On 7 January an expanded meeting of the Council on Security and Public Order at the Internal Affairs Ministry took place. The participants discussed policy related to observing and applying the Law on the Internal Affairs Ministry.

At a news conference after the meeting Viktor Mikhaylov, minister of internal affairs, stated that the main topic of discussion was the new decree on the service regulations, which he signed today.

The decree puts an end to the old practice that despite the existence of the Law on the Internal Affairs Ministry, allowed the use of an instruction dating back to the totalitarian regime, which gave great powers to the minister of internal affairs.

Mr. Mikhaylov added that thus he gives up a large part of his powers, but he has no qualms because thus the national service obtains greater autonomy.

Commentary Claims SDS Faces Disintegration

AU0701145893 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 31 Dec 92 p 6

[Commentary by Georgi Asyov: "In Memory of the Union of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] has shed the ASP [Alternative Social Liberal Party] and the Christian Democratic Union, and new purges are on the way. In this manner, the SDS has ceased to exist. From now on, the SDS is identical with the Democratic Party, with the addition of paranoid types like Sugarev, the careerists, and the chameleons who manage to survive.

In the three years of its existence, the SDS has traveled far—changing from being a motive force of democracy into an instrument for restoring the monarchy, served by Savov, Dzherov, Eskenazi, and others of the same ilk. During these three years, two social groups were quickest to realize where their interests lay, namely the new bourgeoisie, consisting of speculators and members of the nomenklatura, and the fresh shoots from the old bourgeoisie, the so-called restitutionists. These two groups, together with the corrupt politicians and state officials, pulled the strings in both the SDS and the BSP

[Bulgarian Socialist Party], pushing the country toward becoming a banana republic with no bananas. It is far from certain that it is still possible to change this course.

Accordingly, history is likely to pass an equivocal judgment on the SDS because, apart from doing some good, the SDS also brought many misfortunes to Bulgaria during the final period preceding its demise. The worst of these ills is the "policy" it has followed during the last year, which has not only failed to halt, but even finished off the disintegration of the state that started under Zhivkov, and this at a time when a third Balkan war is knocking at the door.

The Democratic Party-controlled SDS is reaching the end of its primary role in politics. From now on, the time belongs to others.

Inflation Trends in 1993 Viewed

AU0701125793 Sofia BTA in English 1157 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The National Statistical Institute predicts that inflation will hit 12 to 13 percent in the first two months on 1993. This is due to the 15 percent rise of the price of electricity and the 10 percent rise in heat power prices. At the same time, foods prices are growing by a monthly 3 to 4 percent, according to BTA's weekly newsletter BULGARIAN ECONOMIC OUTLOOK.

Experts estimate that pensions and the minimum wage should be raised by a monthly 80 to 100 leva to offset inflation but the cabinet has made no decision on this matter yet. The new cabinet elected in the last days of 1992 promised to raise the income of government employees, pensioners and handicaps.

According to statisticians, a rapid development of the private sector could counter a new price shock as only market mechanisms can restrain monopolistic speculative prices. The raising of the base interest rate gives another chance to curb inflation. The central bank declared a 6 percent raise as of January 1, 1993 and does not rule out a further increase.

Annual inflation hit 81 percent last year, up from the government-projected 70 to 75 percent.

Profiteering From Humanitarian Aid Reported

AU0701205893 Sofia BTA in English 1948 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—Private companies profiteer on goods provided by the Foreign Aid Agency, it emerged at a meeting of the National Pricing Commission, the tax, prices and black market department of the Greater Sofia Council and the illicit trade control department of the municipal police force. The profiteering on humanitarian aid goods had forced the Foreign Aid Agency's chief, Mr. Stefan Chanev, to cancel the sales contracts signed with private companies.

The Foreign Aid Agency was established by the Grand National Assembly on November 2, 1990 as a state authority in charge of receiving, storing, distributing and controlling the use of humanitarian aid granted to Bulgaria by foreign countries and organizations.

According to Mr. Chanev, the profiteering on foreign humanitarian aid follows one and the same pattern: Companies which have signed contracts with the Foreign Aid Agency sell the goods in large quantities to other companies which have not concluded such contracts.

The participants in today's meeting proposed that commodities provided by the Foreign Aid Agency be included in the list of government-monitored goods and that severe sanctions be imposed on offenders. Mr. Chanev proposed the Greater Sofia Council to provide shop premises in the city centre to Foreign Aid Agency employees, where the goods could be sold at low prices.

Mr. Chanev pointed out that none of the companies caught profiteering on foreign humanitarian aid had been punished so far even though the violations had been proved and referred to the Prosecutor's Office.

Ruml's Order To Remove Bugging Devices Confirmed

LD0701142793 Prague CTK in English 1347 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 7 (CTK)—Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml today denied charges by certain newspapers that he did not secure the complete dismantling of bugging devices, installed by the former secret police, StB, at foreign embassies, when he was Czechoslovak deputy interior minister (April 1990-July 1992).

Interior Ministry spokesman Jan Subert said today that on Ruml's order, 20 buildings were examined by specialists, including the German, Austrian and British Embassies, where over 160 bugging devices were found. Apartments of diplomats and embassy employees and some foreign firms' offices were also searched, Subert said. As many as 72 bugs were removed from the German Embassy building in Prague, Subert added.

A great part of the records and blueprints were destroyed in November, 1989, by order of then Federal Deputy Interior Minister Alojz Lorenc. According to still existing documents, StB technicians have never succeeded in penetrating into either the Prague-based U.S. Embassy or the U.S. residence, Subert told journalists.

On December 5, a bugging device was found in the building of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava and the case is still under investigation.

Germans Appeal To Klaus for Property Return

AU0701172293 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Jan 93 p 3

[Report by "(hc)": "The Sudeten Germans Want Property"]

[Text] Plzen—The Democratic Party-Sudetenland, whose Preparatory Committee held a meeting in Plzen yesterday, is demanding the repeal of the Benes Decrees, which led to the Sudeten Germans losing their property and having to leave the Czech lands. The party currently has some 600-700 members. Its leadership has, apparently, turned to Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus with this request. According to Jaroslav Bluehmel, chairman of the party's Preparatory Committee, the best thing would be for the Czech Government to be magnanimous and return—where possible—the Sudeten Germans' property. The Sudeten Germans are also willing to buy property, first and foremost, in the border area. Of course, they are willing to do so under conditions more advantageous than the current legislative ones.

First Official Contact Between Republics Viewed

LD0701123893 Prague CTK in English 1151 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 7 (CTK)—A Slovak parliamentary delegation led by Slovak National Council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic arrived in Prague today, marking the first official contact between the Czech and Slovak Republics since both gained full independence January 1.

Karel Ledvinka, deputy head of the Czech Parliament's Chamber of Deputies, was at Prague's Ruzyne airport, where both republics' flags were flown, to greet the delegation.

Gasparovic told CTK shortly after his arrival that talks will concentrate on future cooperation between the Czech and Slovak Parliaments. This cooperation will certainly be very close. We want to draw on the tradition which existed here previously, he said.

The Slovak delegation, which includes Slovak Parliament Deputy Chairmen Peter Weiss, Jozef Prokes and Augustin Marian Huska soon left for the Czech Parliament to hold the first round of talks at the invitation of its chairman Milan Uhde.

Klaus Confirms Nuclear Plants Will Be Completed

LD0701223193 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 2130 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] During his talks with Austrian Vice Chancellor Erhard Busek in Salzburg today, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus confirmed that the nuclear power station at Temelin will be completed. Klaus said in a subsequent briefing for journalists that nuclear reactors at Temelin and Dukovany are safer than those of similar type in the West.

Vice Chancellor Busek said Prime Minister Klaus explained his government's stance by saying that lignite-based power plants ranked among the worst environment-polluting plants.

At the start of his three-day visit to Austria, the czech prime minister also held talks with Governor Hans Katschthaler of Salzburg on ecology and tourism.

In the evening, Vaclav Klaus gave a speech on the occasion of the Three Kings Day annual meeting of the Austrian People's Party entitled "The Future of Europe as Seen Through Czech Eyes."

Klaus Comments Further

LD0801094493 Prague CTK in English 0922 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Salzburg, Jan 8 (CTK)—The most important task the Czech Republic is facing at present is to conclude the transformation of the (policital—ed.) system, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said in an interview with Austrian television ORF last night.

He said in order to fulfil the task the Czech Republic needs not financial help but the openness of all European countries in the economic area. In this connection he voiced the conviction that close economic, political, and cultural contacts will soon exist between the Czech Republic and Austria.

On how the setting of borders in the East goes together with the establishment of a united single market in the West, Klaus said that the integration processes in the West and in the East cannot be compared. We are trying to find the identity we lost forty, fifty years ago. We ought to define it, and to this end we need borders, maybe only for a short period, he added.

Klaus declined to predict further economic and political developments in Slovakia because, he said, Slovakia to me is a foreign country and I have no right to analyse its situation....

Referring to the Temelin (south Bohemia) nuclear power plant currently under construction, Klaus said the Czech Government will decide on whether or not it is to be completed in late January. However, he said, Austria cannot expect anything extraordinary. We are searching for other possible ways to economise in the use of electric power, but in spite of this I see no other decision (than to complete the Temelin nuclear power plant—ed.), Klaus said.

Future of Prague as CSCE Seat Uncertain

AU0701133493 Prague CTK in English 0845 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 29 (CTK)— The Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which has had its seat in Prague since 1990, will have to decide on new headquarters by the end of next year, the Czech weekly RESPEKT reports.

The Secretariat, with a permanent staff of 20, currently rents the Thun Palace in Prague from the Czechoslovak Government for free. The rental agreement, however, expires at the end of 1993, at which point future sights remain an open question, according to RESPEKT.

The weekly writes that Austria, with an established reputation as a diplomatic and conference center is attempting to woo the Secretariat to Vienna.

One of the CSCE's main institutions, the Center for the Resolution of Conflicts, already has its seat in the Austrian capital.

The CSCE's Committee of Senior Officials in Prague, nevertheless, has the final say. At the CSCE's December meeting in Stockholm, the position of general secretary was created, while participants expressed their intention to concentrate the CSCE's headquarters in one city.

Swiss diplomat Claude Altermatt, at the Secretariat in Prague, categorically denies speculation that the CSCE intends to move its highest decision body, according to RESPEKT. We work well with your ministry of foreign affairs.... The only problem is the bad quality of telephone connections, the paper quotes Altermatt as saying.

RESPEKT adds, however, that more important is the Czech Republic's lack of interest in the CSCE. Though Czech Minister of International Relations Josef Zieleniec not long ago told envoys of the CSCE that the Czech Republic is interested in the Secretariat remaining in Prague, it gave up its place in the ruling troika to Slovakia.

A ministry spokeswoman explained the move by announcing that the Czech Republic would be a candidate in two years for a seat on the United Nations' Security Council. Yet RESPEKT points out that Zieleniec and the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS) have long been critics of Czechoslovak activities in the CSCE. This issue was brought out in the electoral campaign against former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier (Civic Movement).

For the moment, the Czech Government will continue to support the CSCE's Secretariat in Prague at the same financial level, but RESPEKT concludes, the question of course is, whether that will be enough.

Foreign Minister on Country's Future Ties

PM0701124493 Paris LIBERATION in French 4 Jan 93 p 16

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by Natalie Nougayrede in Bratislava; date not given]

[Text] Bratislava—[Nougayrede] What does Slovakia's independence mean?

[Knazko] Slovakia will be able to follow the European integration process as a full partner. Before, Slovakia did not exist as a territory. Independence is a considerable, decisive change. Slovakia will be a small piece of the European mosaic.

[Nougayrede] Economically, the Czech Republic is turning toward Germany. Toward which country will Slovakia turn?

[Knazko] Toward no one, if you mean just one partner. If you look at the map, the Czech Republic is surrounded by Germany. Slovakia will try to cooperate with all the democratic countries. Geopolitically, Slovakia is important for balancing this region. It will turn first toward the EC, then the other European countries, then the G7 countries, but it will also look more toward the East.

[Nougayrede] Czechoslovakia has separated peacefully. How was that achieved?

[Knazko] If I said thanks to the Slovaks, it would be rather pretentious! Thanks to great tolerance. Many things could have become sources of conflict. A divorce between two people, even if it is a good thing, is always fraught with conflicts. Not in Czechoslovakia. We will continue to disagree on some points. For instance, the division of the archives of the federal foreign ministry, and the division of the Federal Library. The Czechs are refusing to share them, but I hope we will succeed in doing so.

[Nougayrede] Will national minority questions be a source of tension between Slovakia and Hungary?

[Knazko] No, I do not think so. In Hungary political forces will be established which will seek real cooperation with their neighbor, without resentment, without questioning the Trianon Treaty, and without any idea of a Greater Hungary. Slovakia has never attacked anybody. We are calling on the experts in the Council of Europe to carry out a comparative study on minorities. People say anything at all on this subject, without serious arguments. In reality, the problem does not exist, it is fabricated by people who want to discredit their neighbors, and who have not forgotten a territory they have lost. I would like to remind you that Slovakia is the only territory in the world in which the Hungarian population is on the increase.

Intelligence Head Denies Former FSIS Spy Charge

LD0701145093 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 7 (CTK)—Stanislav Devaty, director of the Czech Security Information Service (SIS), today denied reports that an agent of the former Federal Security and Information Service (FSIS) spied on diplomats at the Israeli Embassy here in 1991-92.

Reports on the FSIS agent watching Israeli diplomats were carried by the Czech daily TELEGRAF earlier this week.

According to TELEGRAF the operation was codenamed shekel and the agent was a man whom the embassy requested, after an agreement with the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry, as a driver to protect its staff against possible terrorist attacks. The paper said the man's inclusion in the Federal Interior Ministry files was fictitious and that he was in fact a member of the FSIS.

Devaty told CTK that neither the FSIS, dissolved last autumn, nor the SIS engaged in any intelligence-gathering activities against Israel. He acknowledged that from the beginning of November 1990 till the middle of December 1991 a member of the Czechoslovak security force was employed at the embassy as a driver and bodyguard at Israel's request. The request was justified in view of the existing threat of terrorist attacks against the Israeli Embassy in Prague. As these matters were within the jurisdiction of the FSIS, a FSIS member was chosen for the job.

Devaty said he considers the matter to be a possible attempt on the part of some former members of the FSIS at discrediting the intelligence service.

Oil Supplies Resumed After Pipeline Accident

LD0601230793 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The supply of oil to Czech refineries was restored at 2145 today. This has ended the disruption to the oil pipeline operation caused by Tuesday's [5 January] accident in Strelice in the Brno district. At the present time, refineries in Litvinov are receiving 12,000 tonnes of oil daily and refineries in Pardubice 1,500 tonnes of oil, which is a typical amount for January.

Klaus Announces Rent Freeze for 1993

LD0701094493 Prague CTK in English 0844 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 7 (CTK)—Rents will not be raised this year, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus announced at a press conference yesterday. As a result, tensions between landlords and renters are sure to increase, which is why the Czech cabinet will have to take up the issue, the Czech premier said.

HSD-SMS Congress Rejects Moravian Separatism

AU0501194293 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 4 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by "mat": "The Movement for Self-Governing Democracy Rejects Nationalism"]

[Text] Brno—At least three-quarters of the 242 delegates to Saturday's [2 January] Third Congress of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS] rejected, according to the movement's reelected chairman Jan Krycer, the nationalist and separatist tendencies of the Moravian National Party [MNS] and professed allegiance to the ideas of liberalism. The movement considers itself part of the political center and intends to enforce the ideas of self-governing democracy only through parliamentary means.

According to Jan Krycer, the liberal current within the movement realizes that the key decision on its main objective—the question of self-administration for Moravia and Silesia—must be made this year. At the same time, however, it deals with the problems concerning the future development of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy of Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS). The movement is now working on its own economic program, in which it devotes considerable attention to the tax system. "The new system of taxes does not meet the needs of cities, communities, and citizens; in our proposal we want to demand that a larger volume of financial resources be retained at the lower levels," Jan Krycer said, adding that the movement has also made provisions for an alternative tax system to be used in the event of the establishment of autonomous lands. According to Krycer, most delegates regarded the movement's transformation into a party as premature. They only agreed to a change in the movement's name from HSD-SMS to the Movement for Self- Governing Democracy of Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS) [Hnuti za samospravnou demokracii Moravy a Slezska).

MNS Chairman Ivan Drimal yesterday described Jan Krycer's statement about the HSDMS's break with the MNS as "an attempt to ingratiate oneself with those in power by exposing the enemy within one's own ranks." Ivan Drimal at the same time expressed the conviction that Saturday's third congress definitely does not mark the end to the search for the profile of Krycer's movement.

Czechs Dissatisfied With Political Situation

LD0701133893 Prague CTK in English 1215 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 7 (CTK)—Citizens in the Czech Republic were more dissatisfied than satisfied with the political situation in the country last autumn, according to a public opinion survey conducted last December. The poll, the results of which were released today, showed that 48 per cent of the 645 respondents were dissatisfied with the political situation. In connection with the course of economic reforms, 20 per cent of the respondents agreed with the pace of reforms, 22 per cent thought the course should be changed, 18 per cent believed the reforms were bad from the beginning, while 18 per cent believed they should be accelerated. Only six per cent of the respondents wanted the reforms halted.

Economy Minister Comments on New Tax System

AU0701162593 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 6 Jan 93 p 1

[Interview with Economy Minister Karel Dyba by F. Kopecky: "A Reasonable Tax Burden"]

[Text] An important item in the first independent 1993 budget of the Czech Republic is its income side, where the main sources should be the value added tax (88.4 billion korunas), the consumer tax (38 billion korunas), and revenues projected from social insurance premiums (97.1 billion korunas). In connection with the introduction of the new tax system, which took effect on 1 January, there was a rather sharp discussion between entrepreneurs and the architects of the new tax system at the end of last year. We asked Economy Minister Karel Dyba for his opinion on this problem.

[Kopecky] Sir, by putting entrepreneurs with high yearly turnovers —entrepreneurs who are out of the worst, so to speak—at the advantage, the Czech Government underestimated, when it discussed the 1993 budget, the impact of new taxes on small and medium-size entrepreneurs, did it not?

[Dyba] Look, there is nothing easier than blaming the government, or the relevant ministries. Of course, the Czech Government is responsible for the budget policy. I am of the opinion, however, that it has not been clearly said yet why the entire problem has come up. The principal error was made during discussions in the Tripartite Council meetings, which were chaired personally by the chairman of the Association of Entrepreneurs. This problem was never discussed during these meetings. Of course, today the entire affair is seen in a quite different light, but I believe that it is the representatives of the Association of Entrepreneurs who missed the train then.

[Kopecky] In developed economies, small and medium-size entrepreneurs represent almost 90 percent of the total number of companies and contribute almost 50 percent of the gross domestic product. They have an important role in society, not just an economic role. Is not the new tax system in this year's situation is a blow to those same small entrepreneurs?

[Dyba] We must realize that the previous year was very advantageous to small entrepreneurs, from the standpoint of the various payments and levies. That means the transition to the new year will be much harder in this respect. Nevertheless, I believe that the entire problem concerning the taxes has been reasonably managed at the last moment, due to our intensive discussions, and I must stress that it is mainly due to the efforts of the Czech Government that we reached this compromise.

[Kopecky] Does that mean that the tax system is not a tool for the Czech Government to destroy the small and medium-size entrepreneurs as a class?

[Dyba] I can responsibly say that the Czech Government really considers itself the government of the small and medium-size entrepreneurial class, and not a government who wants to destroy it. On the contrary, we must explore ways to stabilize our relationship and apply a truly reasonable tax burden, with the understanding that our goal is to make precisely this group prosper.

New Tax System Confusion Leads To Overcharging

AU0701174393 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by "(bob, rob, tma)": "Financiers Are Alarmed at the Rise in Prices"]

[Text] Prague—The majority of financial experts think the price increases will soon impinge on the limits of the population's purchasing power. This should halt and finally—probably, for a short period—even reverse the current development in prices. However, according to reports from food stores yesterday, the rise in prices is continuing.

Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik briefed a number of economic ministers yesterday on the problems associated with applying value-added tax. "Store owners are taxing goods twice. This testifies to absolute confusion about the new taxes. It is part of a Czech citizen's character to leave everything to the last moment, despite the fact that the principles of the new taxation system have been known since last April," added Ivan Kocarnik.

"One has to state clearly that store owners can be divided into three categories—honest, immoral, and crooked,"

said Czech Deputy Finance Minister Miroslav Tera. He was reacting to a situation in which in the first few days after the introduction of the new taxation system, food prices shot up by 10-20 percent.

Deputy Tera said that staff from the Finance Ministry department responsible for supervising prices, who at the moment will merely warn traders of instances of overcharging, have been visiting stores in considerably increased numbers. "If this is not enough, we are prepared to take further steps; in a crisis we will even use administrative measures," he added.

"At the moment, we are trying to ascertain to what extent the price increases can be ascribed to ignorance of the new taxation system and to what extent they can be ascribed to business policy or overcharging," said Emanuel Sip, former director of the Federal Finance Ministry Prices Administration Department and now a Czech Finance Ministry employee.

Provisional Measures Taken for Currency Division

LD0801105593 Prague CTK in English 1004 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Prague/Bratislava, Jan 8 (CTK)—The Central Bank is currently making only provisional technical preparations for a possible separation of Czech and Slovak currencies in the future, Czech National Bank Spokesman Martin Svehla told CTK yesterday.

His statement came in reaction to reports in the Czech press yesterday that the stamping of Czechoslovak banknotes of 1,000 and 500 denominations with special republic tags has already begun.

The vice-governors of the Slovak National Bank, Marian Tkac and Marian Juska, said the Slovak bank is not preparing any extraordinary measures in this respect. If these measures are to be introduced, the public will be informed, said the statement presented to CTK by Slovak National Bank Spokesman Ivan Paska. Paska said the first meeting of the monetary committee will take place in Brno, south Moravia, today, with three representatives of the Slovak National Bank and three representatives of the Czech National Bank attending.

The meeting was called in reaction to reports in the Czech press that Prague's Komercni Banka (Commercial Bank) has started the stamping of banknotes, Paska said, and added that today's meeting will decide about the further development of the currencies in the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Minister Says Army To Undergo Restructuring

LD0701180493 Prague CTK in English 1742 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 7 (CTK)—The basic task the Czech Ministry of Defence is facing at present is to work out and submit to the Czech Government by this April a comprehensive document on restructuring the Czech Army, Antonin Baudys, Czech minister of defence, told a press conference today. He said the restructuring could be started in the middle of the year. As the Czech Army will play a role completely different from that the former Czechoslovak armed forces, significant changes should in the first place be made in the Army personnel, he added. Baudys said the Czech Army will be naturally oriented towards NATO. However, he stressed, at first contacts with the Czech Republic's nearest neighbours need to be enlivened.

Romany 'Black Panthers' Declare 'War' on Skinheads

AU0701133093 Prague CTK in English 1229 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 4 (CTK)— Black Panthers from seven North Bohemian districts have declared war on all racists, fascists, followers of (Miroslav) Sladek (chairman of the extreme-right Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party, SPR-RSC), skinheads, and the like.

Police spokesman from Usti nad Labem, North Bohemia, Captain Josef Cikan, told CTK today that a statement by Black Panthers has been sent to several district papers and some district police directorates.

Referring to the heritage of Martin Luther King, the statement appealed to Romanies (Gypsies) to refrain from committing criminal acts, and threatened all those who attack Romanies without any reason.

Investigating the affair, police found one of the statement's signatories, but he dissociated himself from the matter, Cikan said.

Czech Police in the Usti nad Labem district has not found any concrete facts indicating an immediate danger of an outbreak of racist sentiments between individual groups of the population in the district, Cikan said.

According to the latest census in March 1991, the number of Romanies in the Czech Republic totals 33,489, but their real number is believed to be much higher. Romanies, who are concentrated mainly in North Bohemia, are often blamed for the high crime rate in the region.

On December 10, chairman of the Club of Committed Nonparty Members (KAN) from Rokycany, West Bohemia, Jiri Hajek, told CTK about plans to establish home guards that would protect citizens against the raging of Romanies as they (the citizens) are not sufficiently protected by police.

On December 30, the General Prosecutor of the Czech Republic Jiri Setina submitted to the Czech parliament a bill on extraordinary measures for the preservation of public order in view of racial problems in numerous cities and communities, especially in North Bohemia.

In an attempt to face up to disturbances brought forth by several nonlaw-abiding migrant groups of citizens, legislators should place limits on the occupation of apartments and homes in places designated by the government as threatened by migration, according to the bill.

The bill came in response to the controversy over a November 3 decree on securing public order passed by the North Bohemian town of Jirkov. The decree ordered fines of up to 100,000 crowns for actions endangering the morals, health, or security of others, immediate eviction without judicial approval, and other penalties.

Critics of the decree say it is directed against Romanies, who must often live in severely overcrowded homes and apartments, and reinforces anti-Romany sentiments in the community. Setina said a decree of this form is unacceptable as it violates the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms.

Responsibility for Bugging Remains Unclear

AU0501181693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by "on": "In Whose Hands Is the 'Consulate' File?"]

[Text] Bratislava— Jan Ruml and Jozef Tuchyna, ministers of interior of the Czech and Slovak Republics, met in the villa on Partizanske Street in Bratislava on the morning of 31 December to sign additional agreements pertaining to the division of powers and property of the former Federal Ministry of Interior, as well as an agreement on a joint approach to the abode of third country nationals in the Czech and Slovak Republics. They also signed a joint order by the ministers of interior on the division of the data base created by the commission for investigating the events of 17 November 1989. The answers given by the two ministers at a subsequent briefing were rather vague; reporters did not even hear a reply to their question about who would possess the complete documentation of the State Security Corps [StB] regarding the building of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava after 1 January 1993. As is known, former Federal Minister of Interior Petr Cermak did not live up to his promise and has not yet published the results of the investigation of the so-called bugging affair. Minister Tuchyna confirmed that until the investigation (?) is completed, the Slovak Ministry of Interior will not avail itself of this documentation. However, apart from the federal commission, the whole case is also being investigated by the Military Prosecutor's Office in Bratislava.

Meciar Concerned About Hungarian Arms Buildup

AU0701141793 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jan 93 p 3

[Report by Peter Ondera, TA SR: "Army in the Process of Division; Slovak Prime Minister Among Soldiers in Trencin"]

[Text] Trencin— While on Monday [4 January], Slovak Prime Minister Meciar's steps led to the Kutuzov Barracks in Bratislava, the seat of the newly established Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, yesterday he was welcomed by the soldiers and civilian employees of the Slovak Army Headquarters in the auditorium of the House of the Army in Trencin. Apart from Major General Julius Humaj, commander of the Army of the Slovak Republic, the prime minister was accompanied by former Federal Minister of Defense Imrich Andrejcak, Slovak Minister of Interior Jozef Tuchyna, and Colonel Bohumir Gerinec, Slovak Government commissioner for establishing the Ministry of Defense.

In an introductory address, General Humaj took stock of the Army's activities in the complicated process of division. The Army has transferred to Slovak barracks 4,438 pieces of combat technology, almost 36,000 sets [not further specified], over 35,000 tonnes of military material, and 13,500 cubic meters of fuel. Of the planned 229 combat and transport aircraft, 220 are deployed in Slovakia already, with the remaining aircraft undergoing repair. "All other tasks have been fulfilled without any extraordinary events. A total of 52 formations, units, and installations have been redeployed; the ranks of career soldiers are being replenished; and new organizational structures of command are taking shape at the level of the ministry and the Slovak Army Headquarters."

All this was greatly appreciated by Vladimir Meciar. He also mentioned the process of division of Czechoslovakia in a situation when, as he put it, "there did not exist any possibility to preserve the CSFR, except by means of force." The prime minister explained to the soldiers the present international position of the Slovak Republic in relation to the building of its defense. He described as the most promising path that of concluding bilateral treaties and agreements with various states with the aim of reinforcing the security of our republic. He spoke about promisingly developing talks with France, for example. Of key significance should be relations with the immediate neighbors, however. In this context he mentioned the fact that, despite the large number of cooperation agreements with the Czech Republic that have been signed, it is not possible to speak about ties of alliance.

At a subsequent news conference Vladimir Meciar described as a great economic loss the drastic cut of arms production in the Slovak Republic (at an annual rate of 40 percent), to 9 percent of its 1989 level. He mentioned that the Slovak Republic used to cover up to two-thirds of the CSFR's total production of weaponry. He regards as important renewing the production of some types of special equipment and the concomitant technological changes. He stressed that the Slovak Republic would on no account export products of the arms industry to embargoed countries or to countries that are politically and militarily unstable.

According to Vladimir Meciar, the inevitability of building the Slovak Army is also confirmed by the fact that a certain tension prevails in the vicinity of the Slovak Republic's borders. "The situation in the countries of the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union is unstable, and this instability is also being carried into the surrounding countries," he said. He described as disconcerting reports that a larger quantity of military equipment is to be transferred to the Hungarian Republic in 1993 from Russia, the United States, and Germany. "We do not intend to engage in an arms race with Hungary, but if the situation becomes inordinate [neumerna] we will have to give it some thought," he said.

Meciar Addresses Administration Staff on Duties

LD0701201393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Excerpts] More than 4,000 of the staff from Slovak ministries, the Slovak Statistical Office, the Office of

Slovak Prosecutor General, and other central bodies of state administration met in the Bratislava sports hall, Na Pasienkoch, this morning with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and members of the government cabinet. The purpose of their working meeting was to brief the staff about the work of central bodies of state administration and to tell them about the changes which are due to be implemented in the immediate future. Stanislava Benicka reports:

The meeting between the state administration staff and the government was opened by first deputy prime minister Milan Knazko. He said that the purpose of the meeting was to clarify the principles of cooperation between state administration bodies and the government. Vladimir Meciar then took the floor afterwards. [passage omitted] He switched to the assessment of the situation in which state administration now finds itself when—and I quote—the only development that will materialise in Slovakia will be that initialled by the state administration staff. The copying and translating from Czech, as well as looking over one's shoulder to see how things are done in Prague is over.

The prime minister then spoke about political and economic dimension of the Slovak Republic joining international relations in the European context, mainly in the Central European region and in relation to the Czech Republic. [passage omitted] He pointed out that some new bodies will come into being by the end of February. These will be: the Office of the President of the Republic, and the Supreme Control Office, as an independent body taken from the government's influence, under whose jurisdiction should be all spheres related to the state budget. The Slovak Republic Constitutional Court must also be set up quickly. The Slovak Republic National Bank has been working since 1 January. The Slovak Army is also coming into being. Security corps, border guards, and customs administration are being reorganized. [passage omitted]

Official Announces Changes in Citizenship Law

AU0701142793 Prague CTK in English 2136 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 6 1993 (CTK)—The Slovak National Council should approve a new law granting Slovak state citizenship free of charge at its next session, and therefore applicants for change of citizenship are advised to wait until the new law goes into effect, said a Slovak Interior Ministry employee today.

In an interview with Slovak Radio, Jirina Fiserova, who is in charge of the State Citizenship and Registration Division of the ministry, said that an administrative fee of 2,000 crowns is being charged to citizens who requested Slovak citizenship after January 1, 1993, as a new law on administrative fees went into effect on that date.

Fiserova said that this regulation will only affect those citizens who have documentation of Czechoslovak state citizenship.

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At a press conference during a break in today's session of the Legislative Council of the Slovak Government, Fiserova said that the Slovak Government will concern itself with the question of citizenship, especially in the case of Czechoslovak citizens, who must have the right to freely choose their citizenship. She said that for the time being, only the question as it pertains to Czechoslovak citizens will be resolved, and that the legislature will decide on the case of citizens of other countries later.

The requests of Slovak citizens for exemption from citizenship of the Slovak Republic due to the acquisition of Czech citizenship is a problem, Fiserova said. By not fulfilling all the conditions for state citizenship of the Czech Republic, it can easily happen that a former citizen of the Slovak Republic, exempted from citizenship in his republic, will be a displaced person, she said.

Toth Says Currency Reform 'Not Being Prepared'

LD0701193093 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] At a meeting with staff of state administration bodies, Finance Minister Julius Toth stated that a currency reform is not being prepared in Slovakia. During the division of the Czech and Slovak currency there will merely be an exchange of money. Should there be an unpresumed separation of the currency, the state is prepared to mark the money within a very short span of time, within 48 hours. Unmarked money can be deposited by a citizen in a financial institution for a period of two to three weeks, after which it can be collected marked. The finance minister stressed that such measures will be unavoidable in order to protect the Slovak currency.

Ministry Rejects Charges Over Russian Arms Deal

LD0701173493 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] The Ministry of Defense spokesman denied that any kind of constitutional negligence was committed in the case of the Russian-Hungarian arms delivery agreements. Lajos Erdelyi reacted to the accusations by Deputy Tamas Wachsler from the Federation of Young Democrats who earlier said that the agreement made with President Yeltsin should have been submitted to Parliament for approval. The defense spokesman recalled that so far only an agreement on the principles exists; talks by experts are going on, and when a final agreement is reached, the government will submit it to Parliament for approval.

Radio, TV Heads Resign

LD0601163893 Budapest MTI in English 1511 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 6 (MTI)—Resigning Presidents Csaba Gombar of Hungarian Radio and Elemer Hankiss of Hungarian Television handed in their notice to President Arpad Goncz at parliament on Wednesday [6 January]. Journalists were also attending. Explaining their decision, Gombar and Hankiss said they could no longer guarantee unbiased radio and television broadcasting.

Hankiss stressed that he was going to continue the struggle by means of the law. He insisted that the disciplinary action conducted against him must be carried through to the end.

Goncz said he understood and appreciated the reasons of the media leaders, and would give them his decision in due course. The head of state thanked Gombar and Hankiss for their two years' work, and asked radio and television employees to continue to work for unbiased broadcasting.

Government Issues Economic Forecast

AU0701132493 Budapest MTI in English 0815 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, 6 Jan (MTI)—According to the economic programme of the Hungarian Government, gross production is to stop declining this year. It is to stagnate in the worst case but may even increase by 3 percent. In 1992, gross production dropped by 6 to 8 percent.

The gross domestic product is to show a similar trend. As compared to a 5 percent decrease in 1992, the GDP is expected to grow by 0 to 3 percent in real terms.

The government's draft budget prognosticated a 16 to 19 percent consumer price increase for 1993 and proposed introducing a two-tiered VAT [value-added tax] schemes with 8 and 25 percent rates. In the wake of the parliamentary debate and negotiations with the unions and the employers' interest associations, the 8 percent VAT rate was reduced to 6 percent and a narrow scope of products kept tax free. Accordingly, the Finance Ministry, modifying its previous forecast covered by MTI a few days ago, said that consumer prices may increase by 14 to 17 percent this year. (In 1991, the consumer prices grew by 36 percent and last year, according to preliminary calculations, by 22-23 percent.)

Under the programme, the GDP may reach HUF [Hungarian forints] 3,105 billion (USD [U.S. dollars] 36.9 billion). Last year, it stood at HUF 2,655 billion (USD 31.6 billion). The consumption of the population is anticipated to stop declining and show a slight increase of at most 1 percent.

The number of the jobless is expected to grow from 640,000 (12 percent) to 900,000 (17 percent) by late 1993. There will be a further differentiation in the financial standing of the population. Private savings are expected to further increase.

New Information Law Protects Personal Data

LD0701153393 Budapest MTI in English 1132 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 7 (MTI)—Hungary's recent uniform information law provides both for protection of personal data and for freedom of information, for access to data of public interest. The law expands legal protection for individuals, ensuring that personal data does not fall into unlawful hands and similarly protects business information as well as state secrets.

Personal data can be recorded only for well-defined and lawful reasons. An individual has the right to be fully informed on the use of personal data, on when such data is given out and on the institutions or authorities that receive it. This means a person knows how the information is being used and provides the chance for correction or cancellation.

The law also provides the right of access to information, which is a fundamental civil right. The law declares freedom of information in general and lists the exceptions. It introduces the notion of "freedom of the file," which is customary in Europe and North America and regulates when official data can be viewed.

The National Personal Data and Address Registration Office will no longer be an authority, but merely a service institution. For legal remedy, citizens can, in the first instance, turn to a data protection commission, a new institution which has been introduced along international lines, and then to the courts. Under the new law, by 1995, Hungarian authorities will switch to a new computerized personal identification system. Personal I.D. booklets used by Hungarians will be eliminated and replaced by cards, but unlike the personal numbers used in the booklets, cards will not contain personal data in hidden form or indirectly—the current numbers include data in a code that can be easily deciphered by anyone.

Cabinet submitted the bill to Parliament in autumn 1991, however, rights of private persons were increased on the basis of proposals by the opposition. Under one such amendment, parties concerned can find out who did what, and when, with their personal information. Also guarantees in the law were expanded and it was decided that the I.D. signs on cards should not contain personal data.

The law, which required a two-thirds majority in Parliament, was passed almost unanimously in October. A decision on exactly what should appear on I.D. cards will be made later.

Internal MDF Poll Shows Majority Behind Antall

94 Percent for Antall

93P20070A Budapest REFORM in Hungarian 17 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Zs. Sz.: "How Can You Clean Out Csurka?"]

[Excerpt] There is total agreement outside, but the insiders, in spite of everything, think that the Csurka affair is nothing else but a clash of personalities. It does not even matter what the politician/popular writer has been scribbling in MAGYAR FORUM [Csurka's weekly newspaper], as long as silence reigns. It is imperative that the Democratic Forum not sink to the level of the Smallholders and that it not become a party of scandals. According to MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] forecasters, there is no chance of this happening. The soothsayers of course are not just plucking this out of thin air; a secret poll has been conducted among MDF members to see whom they would back in the Csurka contra Antall battle. Reportedly, the majority supports the prime minister.

Within the MDF faction, the patriot with his own ideology is left in the minority, because only five members accept his tenets completely. The silent majority is wavering: They think there is some truth to both sides' arguments.

Thus, looking at the results of the latest secret opinion poll among members, there is no reason for worry. Even though, according to unconfirmed reports (as Torgyan is apt to do), Jozsef Antall is planning to submit a motion of no-confidence against himself. If he wins—and he is confident he will—then he wins the whole game. If not, Csurka can become the president [of MDF], which would create the impossible situation of the party leaving the government. Some Antall supporters are certain that Csurka has no other goal but to grab the presidential seat and that this was what motivated him to write his treatise, not his concern for his country or his party. This is the reason why certain people are racking their brains about how to pull the rug out of under Csurka in front of the membership. [passage omitted]

2 Percent for Csurka

93CH0272A Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 23 Dec 92 p 5

[MTI report: "A Majority of the MDF Supports Jozsef Antall"]

[Text] As part of preparations for the January National Congress, the organizational units of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] completed the process of nominating candidates for various leadership posts. MTI was informed that 90 percent of the organizations had nominated a candidate for chairman. Ninety-four percent of these would like to see prime minister and present party chairman Jozsef Antall as the chairman of the MDF, while 3 percent opted for Lajos Fur, 2 percent for Istvan Csurka, less than 1 percent for Sandor Lezsak, and less than 1 percent for Peter Boross and Tamas Katona.

Responding to an MTI reporter yesterday, MDF spokesman Laszlo Medgyasszay said that he did not agree with MDF National Assembly Representative Lukacs Szabo's press statement, calling for a separation between the party chairman's and the prime minister's functions. Medgyasszay said that based on European customs the chairman of the party that wins the elections also becomes the prime minister. This also applies to the MDF. As Medgyasszay said: As long as the MDF remains a ruling power, nothing is more natural than having one person act as both party chairman and prime minister. In an effort to improve the party's functioning, last year's national congress amended the MDF bylaws mandating the presidium to elect a managing chairman from its own ranks. The new bylaws are not going to change this situation. The press spokesman regarded Lukacs Szabo's opinion as unjustified and groundless, but added that "this, too, is an opinion."

Centrist Orientation

93CH0272B Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 23 Dec 92 p 5

[Unattributed, untitled commentary on MTI report]

[Text] It seems that the MDF membership recognized its responsibility insofar as the future of the country is concerned, and that it understood that this country needed a credible prime minister. The majority of the nominations received by Jozsef Antall to become party chairman is more than encouraging, and also reassuring. It indicates that only the pursuit of centrist policies provide real opportunities for this country. It also seems that the membership realized that this center holds out the promise of success in the 1994 elections. Lukacs Szabo's proposal is not only unusual at this moment because it deviates from European customs, but also unrealistic. This country needs unity; any division within the largest ruling party could put the entire unity

at risk. The decision also reflects confidence: It seems that the prime minister's policies cannot be altered in a credible manner.

Free Democrat Leader Views Party Issues

AU0701153993 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Jan 93 p 4

["Sz.Sz."-signed interview with Peter Tolgyessy, national executive director of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), in Budapest on 4 January: "Centralized Power in the SZDSZ"]

[Text] Peter Tolgyessy, former chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] was a guest of the SZDSZ's bourgeois democratic circle in the Liberal Club in Budapest's first district. At the end of the meeting, which attracted much interest, Tolgyessy gave a brief interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP on the situation within the SZDSZ and on current domestic political issues.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Not long before the meeting of deputies, you said that what was actually at stake with the election of the chairman was whether one group's influence would in the future prevail in the party or the previous, shared power would remain. In your view, has the above centralization come true?

[Tolgyessy] It is only two months since the meeting of deputies. Therefore, it would be premature to talk about the SZDSZ's internal affairs. At the same time, there are signs that a one-core centralized power has been formed in the SZDSZ.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Before the meeting of deputies, you gave the label of practical liberalism to the group you led. In your view, what are this group's chances now, is it able seriously to influence the party's policy?

[Tolgyessy] The ideas of this group are still present and they represent a large minority in the party. It would be difficult to say to what extent this group determines the SZDSZ' policy because the new leadership has done little of essence so far.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] After the SZDSZ's meeting of deputies, the national meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] in the middle of January is the next important domestic political event. Many people expect the Hungarian party structure to change as a result of the discussions. What is your opinion?

[Tolgyessy] I do not believe there will be dramatic changes. In my view, the most likely scenario is that the current situation will remain, the gradual shift to the right will continue in the MDF, and Jozsef Antall's center, through the double-dealing policy, will try to hold together something that cannot be held together. However, a different scenario is also possible. For example, the extreme right-wing radical group or the national liberal wing might separate from the MDF. Considering their attachment to power and the government responsibility that is borne by all of them, in my view, the most likely case is that party unity will be maintained through compromises and a shift to the right.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] I ask you in your position as a constitutional jurist: What are your views on the referendum initiative to dissolve Parliament? It was the Federation of Young Democrats that raised the firmest legal objections to this.

[Tolgyessy] It is difficult to give a definite legal answer to this because Hungarian law gives ample opportunity for referendums. It would be difficult to state firmly that this step would be clearly against the Constitution. I agree with those who say there is too much room for calling referendums but this issue can be settled by amending the law.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] As a politician, what is your view on this initiative?

[Tolgyessy] In my view, it is worth calling early elections when it is possible to choose between clear political alternatives and the new elections hold out the promise of stability. However, this is not at all the case this time.

Minister Skubiszewski, Iran's Velayati Meet

LD0701160693 Warsaw PAP in English 1256 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati Thursday [7 January] held a face-to-face meeting with his Polish counterpart Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The meeting was followed by Polish-Iranian plenary talks at the Foreign Ministry. Both sides are to sign an agreement on Polish- Iranian cultural and scientific exchange in 1993-94.

Trade Links Discussed

LD0701181793 Warsaw PAP in English 1746 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati on Thursday [7 January] arrived in Poland for a two-day visit to discuss Polish-Iranian political and economic relations.

The Iranian foreign minister and his Polish counterpart Krzysztof Skubiszewski held a face-to-face meeting which was followed by Polish-Iranian plenary talks at the Foreign Ministry.

Minister Skubiszewski disclosed that the animation of political and economic contacts between the two countries was the main subject of the plenary talks while the situation in the former Yugoslavia was discussed during his face-to-face meeting with 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

Skubiszewski stressed that Iran is Poland's important economic partner, mainly as an exporter of oil. He added that Polish exports to Iran were also touched upon during the meeting but this subject would be discussed at length during talks at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Also on Thursday, the two sides—in the presence of both foreign ministers— signed an agreement on Polish Iranian cultural and scientific exchange in 1993-94.

The programme provides for mutual presentation of contemporary art, participation in cultural and scientific events, exchange of experts and experiences on film, theatre and music and exchange of scholarships.

Skubiszewski Views Talks

LD0701213693 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] [Announcer] 'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has started a two-day visit to Poland. A report by Krystyna Koziol.

[Begin recording] Iran is an important partner for us, both politically and economically. From Iran we purchase nearly one-quarter of the oil we need; we import 65 percent from Russia. Today, Minister Velayati met head of our diplomacy, Krzysztof Skubiszewski. There were also Polish-Iranian plenary talks. A program of cultural and scientific exchange for 1993-4 was signed in the presence of both ministers. Minister Velayati told journalists his talks with Minister Skubiszewski concerned mutual relations, the situation in the former Yugoslavia and in the Persian Gulf.

[Skubiszewski] Relations between Iran and Poland are developing well. The level of political relations is good. But I think these relations could be stimulated further, especially through regular consultations between the two countries' Foreign Ministries. We envisage such contacts at deputy minister level in the second six months of this year. I would also like to remind you that Iranian President Rafsanjani has been invited by President Walesa to pay an official visit to Poland.

There is much to be done in the area of our economic relations. There is asymmetry in our trade because of large purchases of oil by Poland, which is an opportunity we regard as very important for our economy. Nevertheless, such asymmetry will persevere. The point is to reduce it, and this is something that we spoke about at length with the minister. It is in our interest to have certainty about the purchase of Iranian oil, and we have this certainty because of the good political relations. [end recording]

[Announcer] Tomorrow, Minister Velayati will be received by President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka.

Mazowiecki Assesses Yugoslav Situation

LD0701210993 Warsaw PAP in English 2036 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—Tadeusz Mazowiecki briefed Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati on Thursday [7 January] on the situation in the former Yugoslavia, especially on the dramatic developments in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

"The talk pertained to my assessment and views (on the situation in the former Yugoslavia) as an U.N. human rights envoy," Tadeusz Mazowiecki told newsmen after the meeting to which he was invited by the Iranian visitor. He added they also discussed the outcome of the recent conference of Islamic states which was devoted to Yugoslavian issues and how it can affect the U.N. activity.

A Foreign Ministry official said the Iranian minister declared millions of dollars in humanitarian aid for Bosnia and Hercegovina. Jerzy Pomianowski of the department for Africa, Asia, Australia and Oceania added Iran had assigned so far thousands of dollars for that purpose.

The Iranian foreign minister started his two-day official visit to Poland earlier on Thursday.

Suchocka, Lithuania's Lubys Hold Discussions

LD0701225793 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2145 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka will pay an official visit to Lithuania. This is one of the decisions made during today's meeting with Lithuanian Prime Minister Bronislovas Lubys.

[Correspondent Piotr Jazwinski] Poland and Lithuania will shortly begin work on creating a free trade zone. This is one of the decisions made during the working meeting between Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and Lithuanian Prime Minister Bronislovas Lubys.

Prime Minister Suchocka announced after a more than three hour meeting which took place in the old Cameldolite monastery on the shore of Lake Wigry near Suwalki that next week Poland will convey to the Lithuanian side a draft treaty on cooperation between the two states. Work on this treaty is to be finished within two months.

Both sides have declared their willingness to respect the rights of the Polish minority in Lithuania and the Lithuanian one in Poland, in particular the right to spell names and surnames as in the mother tongue.

As a gift to Lithuania, which is living through electricity problems Poland will provide 2,000 tonnes of fuel oil for heating homes.

Hungary, Poland Sign Transport Cooperation Accord

LD0601183093 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 6 (MTI)—With Polish ports handling a growing proportion of Hungarian cargo, Hungary and Poland have concluded a transport cooperation agreement. Polish ports last year handled about 250,000 tonnes of Hungarian exports and imports, and this is expected to increase.

The agreement aims to facilitate transport and handling of Hungarian and Polish goods, mainly through administrative means and by reducing transit charges. It is also planned to lower tariffs on road and rail cargo. The agreement was signed in Warsaw by Laszlo Bogar, state secretary of the Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations and Vitold Chodakiewicz, state secretary at the Polish Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy.

EC Europartenariat Program To Be Implemented

LD0701180093 Warsaw PAP in English 1705 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—Minister for Business Promotion Zbigniew Eysmont on Thursday [7 January] met with representatives of the European Communities Directorates-General for Small and Medium-Size Businesses and Regional Policy to discuss the implementation of the Europartenariat programme in Poland. The programme aims at economic development of European regions through expansion of international cooperation of local enterprises and costs related to its organization in Poland will be borne by EC countries. The Polish financial involvement will be very small.

After the talks, Eysmont disclosed that a meeting of small business representatives interested in participation in the programme will be held in Gdansk at the end of this year.

One of EC representative said that the fact that the next EC small business meeting will be held in Poland which is not an EC member, should be interpreted in terms of importance the European Communities attach to Polish efforts aimed at closer integration with the Western economies.

Rumored Attempt To Buy Nuclear Weapons Denied

LD0701162893 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0300 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] National Defense Ministry spokesman Leszek Ziolo denied rumors spread by the former head of this ministry, Jan Parys, who suggested in NOWY SWIAT daily that the Belweder [presidential palace] pushed for illegal purchases of nuclear weapons from the disintegrating Soviet Union. Polish defense policy has always been aimed at nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, Colonel Ziolo said.

The president's spokesman, Andrzej Drzycimski, said that if Parys has information about the Belweder's influence on purchases of nuclear weapons then he should talk to a prosecutor.

Suchocka Discusses Strikes, Coalition

AU0701180593 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 31 Dec 92-3 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka by Janusz Grochowski; place and date not given: "Looking With Hope"]

[Text] [Grochowski] It will soon be New Year's. How do you intend to spend New Year's Eve?

[Suchocka] I am going to the opera.

[Grochowski] Were all your wishes fulfilled last year?

[Suchocka] Not at all. Things turned out completely differently from the way I wanted them to.

[Grochowski] Do you mean assuming the post of prime minister....

[Suchocka] Yes. I never strove for the office; I never even dreamt of it.

[Grochowski] Who was actually the father of your government? I have met several politicians who claim to be the father.

[Suchocka] That would mean that the government has actually scored successes because, as we know, success has many fathers. Actually it is difficult for me to ascribe paternity to anyone because creating the government to a large extent took place without me. However, there is no doubt in my mind that the "Solidarity" Parliamentary Club played a key role in forming it. It initiated talks on the subject and invited potential coalition partners to them.

[Grochowski] The Small Constitution increases the government's powers. Does it do so adequately? Do you intend to seek special powers?

[Suchocka] Above all, the Small Constitution strengthens the position of the president and that of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The government's powers were increased by giving it the opportunity to apply for special powers. I believe that it is necessary to apply for them, as parliamentary work on some laws drags on for months. It will soon be a year since some bills received their first reading, and the Sejm is still working on them. Actually, nothing is happening. That is why it would be a good thing if the government could address those matters.

[Grochowski] Do you have specific bills in mind?

[Suchocka] The mining geological law for one. We even applied to the Sejm to have legislative work on it speeded up by indicating that we consider the law a priority. Unfortunately, that was to no avail.

[Grochowski] Over half the Poles—if we are to believe the Center for Public Opinion Research—believe that your government devotes more attention to coalition infighting than to work benefiting the state. Do you share that view?

[Suchocka] I get the impression that occasionally the statements made by the representatives of parties making up this government can give society a basis for holding such views. If it is stated in public that one or another grouping is losing out by belonging to the coalition, one can really get the impression that things are viewed in terms of party interests and not those of the state. However, I think that in the final analysis, when decisions are made by the Council of Ministers, national interests take precedence.

[Grochowski] Half of those polled also believe that your government will survive for more than a year. Yet, is that possible, in view of the fragile nature of the coalition majority?

[Suchocka] There is, as you can see, a 50 percent chance. I think it can, but only time will tell.

[Grochowski] Do you see a possibility of expanding the government coalition so that it will become more stable? It seems that you have started talks with the Polish Peasant Party?

[Suchocka] I have started various talks, but on other matters. I cannot make efforts to expand the coalition. The coalition itself must want that and all the parties making up the coalition must be in agreement about who they want to admit.

[Grochowski] The government is working under the constant pressure of strikes. It even seems—as was the case in Mielec—that it is negotiating directly with those staging protests. Will that not weaken the reform process?

[Suchocka] We have surely effectively broken with strike pressure. Protest actions have indeed erupted here and there, and sometimes they were justified.

In Mielec, not everything was dealt with entirely well by individual ministers and that is why Minister Niewiarowski had to go there. The government promised that money would be paid out, but meanwhile delays in the transfer arose and that had to be explained to the people.

In general, however, the government has adopted the principle that it will not give in to strike pressure. Only in cases in which problems have become particularly acute and when we consider talks to be purposeful will we try to see what can be changed.

[Grochowski] So, there is no danger that the government will assume the role of a firefighter going from strike to strike and extinguishing them?

[Suchocka] No, at any rate no one has been doing that for the past six months.

[Grochowski] Can a coherent economic program be achieved through negotiations with the trade unions? Will it not be a further compromise that will not serve Poland particularly well?

[Suchocka] A coherent program can also be the result of a compromise. The one does not exclude the other. The talks that have been going on with the trade unions show that the government has not entirely given in to trade union demands. It cannot give in because that would lead to a situation in which the program would not be as much lacking in coherence as completely different from the one that the government has proposed. We are ready to accept compromises, but only ones whose limits have been clearly defined.

[Grochowski] Society increasingly sees politics in terms of personal conflicts and discussions on ersatz topics. Do Polish elites have nothing more to offer the average Pole? Will, and if so when, a program that is understandable to the average Pole appear?

[Suchocka] That kind of program could appear if everything were clear. Meanwhile, the experiment that Poland is going through is a pioneering one on a world scale.

Various attempts were made to depart from totalitarian political systems, but most of them were made in a situation in which an economy was healthy. We, on the other hand, have to deal with two elements: We have departed from a nondemocratic system and we are shifting the economy on to a course that was completely different from the previous one. There are no simple, clear-cut recipes.

The program that we want to implement has, nevertheless, been set out and submitted to society. We know that we have to invest and that what we additionally produce cannot be entirely allocated to the social sphere because that would mean stagnation, not growth. Those are our assumptions. However, I do understand that they might be difficult for society, which does not consider them excessive, to accept. Yet, if we consider global indicators and compare them with ratios between production and consumption in countries with a similar level of income, then it turns out that we allocate significantly more for consumption than in other countries.

[Grochowski] The only point is that those who cannot consume much, those who are threatened by unemployment do not see that.

[Suchocka] Yes, and what are we to do in this situation? Are we to print more money, knowing that in two months' time it will not be worth anything.... What then? What choice do we have? We do not have a choice at all!

Finland, which is in a similarly difficult position—caused by the loss of opportunity to export goods to the former Soviet Union, which has become insolvent—has decided to completely suspend the payment to teachers for a month to give a boost to the state budget.

[Grochowski] However, if society is to support the government program, the goals and costs that have to be borne to attain those goals have to be clearly explained to society.

[Suchocka] The program, which contains seven points, was personally presented by me during speeches both in the Sejm and the Senate. But look at what people could have learned about the program from the press. Even those elements that were set out were presented in a distorted light.

There began to be talk of lowering pensions, and not about the pace at which they are reviewed upward being slackened. Little attention was devoted to strategic, long-term goals and the means appropriate to attaining them. On top of that, there is the tone that the press usually adopts, every scandal—even ones that are untrue—is blown up and repeated to the point of boredom. The result is society's impression that there is nothing going on apart from scandals.

[Grochowski] I concede that you are partially right in this respect, but I would add that POLSKA ZBROJNA reported your inaugural speech and the basic direction of government priorities very extensively and, we think, objectively.

[Suchocka] POLSKA ZBROJNA is a good paper, but unfortunately it only has a certain, limited readership.

[Grochowski] Several previous prime ministers have stated surprisingly that after a certain time, they did not have much of an influence on the course of economic affairs. Are you not afraid that you are attaching your name to a policy that is actually being conducted by others?

[Suchocka] That is what I do not want to happen and that is why we are making all kinds of decisions to ensure that we have the reins in our hands at all times. Under a free market system, it is very easy to lose control, it is enough for there to be one or two wrong decisions and then everything takes its own course. We are afraid of that, but it seems that for the time being we can influence what is going on in the economy. There is, however, no doubt that what will be of fundamental significance is the final form in which the Sejm will adopt the budget and what consequences that will have for the entire state.

[Grochowski] Recently, a group of economists held a symposium at which they concluded that Poland has reached the lowest point. Does that mean that we will now be moving upward?

[Suchocka] There has already been talk of having reached the lowest point on several occasions, but I believe that if all indicators show an upward trend, then that means that we are gradually overcoming the crisis. It is a good thing that scholars have finally noticed that, too.

[Grochowski] It would appear that you are one of those people who advocate Poland's rapid entry to European structures. However, is that really possible?

[Suchocka] Our rapid entry means at least a ten-year period. Of course, that is based on the assumption that those indicators showing that we are coming out of the recession that have already been attained will continue to grow. At the same time, over the period in question we will try to adjust our state to conform to European standards. Maybe then it will be possible to realize that task. We will then, however, not find ourselves among the first group of states, but among the last. We will join Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

[Grochowski] There are even opponents of integration in your cabinet.

[Suchocka] The facts are such as they are. The treaty on association has been ratified and the office of the minister responsible for integration with the EC is functioning.

[Grochowski] You devoted much of your inaugural speech to the security of the state. Is that because you are concerned about its condition?

[Suchocka] About security in a broad sense, especially internal security, but external security, too. I must be concerned, if only because people do not feel safe. It is a key complaint and we would like to do something that society will then feel. I cannot accept that there are no means and instruments that would enable us to radically alter this situation. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult and everything is proceeding very slowly.

[Grochowski] How can this concern be reconciled with cuts in the Ministry of National Defense budget?

[Suchocka] The Army was the very institution that received a sum that is fully in line with what we have been saying. You can see that education did not receive anything, the same was true of the diplomatic corps, and as a result we will have great difficulty in paying our contributions to international organizations. Environmental protection also did not receive anything. Against the background of these substantial cuts, we spared the National Defense Ministry the most. I am completely beyond reproach in that respect. The Internal Affairs Ministry received significantly less, and that worries me very much.

[Grochowski] However, if one considers the real purchasing power of the funds allocated the military, then it means that its budget will have been reduced for yet another year?

[Suchocka] That applies to everyone.

[Grochowski] The long-awaited restructuring of the Defense Ministry is starting. Will it not be held up as a result of a lack of funds?

[Suchocka] We have provided funds for that. The funds have been allocated to the military for the purchase of equipment from domestic factories and essential restructuring processes in the Defense Ministry, military, and defense industry. I realize that there is only enough for essential changes because not everything can be done. That is why we stressed that those two elements should be combined. At the same time, we stressed very strongly—and I emphasize this once again—that we did not provide funds for increasing pay, and we will check that very closely.

[Grochowski] I hope that this will not result in a lowering of personnel's standard of living.

[Suchocka] I can assure you that the government is doing everything to ensure that personnel's standard of living will not fall. We know that the needs are great, besides that is the case everywhere. This is particularly true of young people—officers, noncommissioned officers, and their families—of all of those who are starting out in life. However, I think that they and all personnel can understand that the government is making a great financial effort to maintain wage ratios—1.7:1—for military personnel in relation to the remaining sectors of the state budget sphere. There simply cannot be any more than that.

[Grochowski] The Army enjoys a very high degree of public confidence, although that confidence is questioned by some politicians. Do you trust the Army?

[Suchocka] Of course I trust it and I hope that we can all trust it, which is evident from the results of public opinion polls.

[Grochowski] What will 1993 be like for Poland? Do you see there being more hope or more dangers?

[Suchocka] I believe that one always has to have hope, although there is no doubt that there are many dangers, both internal and external. We cannot begin to think like malcontents because if we become afraid, that will paralyze us with respect to taking any kind of action. One should not erect fortresses against dangers, we have to look toward the future with hope.

[Grochowski] Thank you, prime minister.

Solidarity Commission Approves Compensation Deal

LD0701193793 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 7—The National Commission of Solidarity Trade Union on Thursday [7 January] assessed the Tuesday agreement with the government on compensation of the growing costs of living as a considerable progress towards solving the problems which are subject of collective dispute. The commission decided, however, not to end the collective dispute situation till the decisions of the agreement are implemented.

Official Seeks To Negotiate Debt Payment

LD0701224893 Warsaw PAP in English 2222 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—Newly appointed government plenipotentiary for Polish foreign debt to Western commercial banks said on Thursday [7 January] Poland would strive to negotiate the payment of its nearly 12 billion-dollar debt in commercial banks. Krzysztof Krowacki, 54, who was appointed government plenipotentiary on Thursday, added he envisaged the signing of a comprehensive agreement on the debt payment in 1993. "The date of negotiations has not been settled yet but they can start soon," he said. Krowacki, who worked as a financial adviser to the Polish Embassy in Washington from 1988, holds also the post of undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Finance.

Yugoslavs Decide To Release Detained Ships

AU0701160293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] The Foreign Ministry of Romania has faxed us the following press communique: In connection with the detainment of the Romanian ships: the Vaslui, Valea Alba, Isaccea, and Europe in the Yugoslav sector of the Danube River, about which the Foreign Ministry informed the public during the news conference of its spokesman held on 6 January, we wish to announce that as a result of diplomatic actions taken by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Bucharest and Romania's Embassy in Belgrade, federal authorities have ordered the release of the ships in question sometime today. This measure was announced by Mr. Djordje Koncar, counselor of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Bucharest, during a meeting held at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reads the Foreign Ministry's communique.

Another Romanian Ship Detained

AU0701190893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1993—The Romanian Ministry of Transport announced that the ship Jaristea One with 1,000 tonnes of sugar aboard, bound for Romania, had not been allowed by the Yugoslav authorities to leave the port of Novi Sad, on January 6, on grounds that the Danube had frozen. This ship is the fifth detained by the Yugoslav authorities since December 31. The Ministry of Transport has recommended all Romanian ships not to enter the Yugoslav sector of the Danube.

Iliescu-Coposu Dispute on MFN Status Discussed

AU0701124093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0957 GMT 7 Jan 93

[From the Romanian press review of 7 January]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1993—The major dailies further focus on the Romanian President Ion Iliescu's statement made on television on January 4 that Corneliu Coposu, Chairman of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNT-CD], had demanded last year the United States Congress to deny Romania the most favored nation status. "Mr. Coposu at Fault" is the headline of the commentary in daily DIMINEATA on the subject-matter. "Did Mr. Corneliu Coposu Make Demarches With Washington for the Delay of the MFN [most-favored-nation] Status or Not?" wonders daily ADEVARUL. The daily publishes the translation of the controversial document on the MFN issue and carries an editorial stating that "the idea of the country's president to address public opinion by one of the widest media using an apocryphal document in order to raise suspicions left behind by political evolutions may have a reason which can only be the knowledge of a far more important political tension than we suspect." ADEVARUL recalls at the same time that as regards Romania's President Ion Iliescu "the hope for quiet and stability was the reason of electoral confidence and keeps being the cover of public opinion." On the other hand, daily ROMANIA LIBERA says that "the 'document signed' by Mr. Coposu does not exist." In turn, daily DREPTATEA, organ of the PNT-CD, publishes a statement by Corneliu Coposu who maintains that he personally has always urged for the granting of the MFN status to Romania. He also maintains the document referred to by Romania's president was signed by him on behalf of the Democratic Convention of Romania but "this document did not mention the most favored nation status at all," and it only referred to "the mistakes made by the current regime in Romania."

EVENIMENTUL ZILEI considers that [the issue] is "an extraordinary political blow by Mr. President" Ion Iliescu meant to divert attention from economic difficulties Romania's population has to cope with during this very hard winter. [passage omitted]

Negritoiu, Economic Officials View Privatization

AU0701191693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1753 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1993—"Privatisation must become a natural state, not an exceptional one," Misu Negritoiu, state minister and chairman of the Council for Economic Coordination, Strategy and Reform said at a meeting with representatives of the State Property Agency, the Private Property Agency, the National Agency for Privatisation and directors of ministerial departments for reform, stressing that "the time has come for declarations on the need for furtherance of the reform to be substantiated by facts." Apart from privatisation methodology aspects regarding small businesses, the discussions touched on the roles the government is expected to play at macroeconomics level, the ministries at sectorial level and the state property agency at unit level for restructuring strategies.

Government Examines Social Protection Program

AU0701191293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1755 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1993—The commission that is drawing up "The Romanian Government Programme on Social Protection Over 1993-96" resumed works Thursday, January 7, at the Government's Headquarters. According to governmental sources, the twelve teams discussed, among other things, the necessity to define the concepts of social protection and policy, the present situation of social protection in Romania, the analysis of social protection expenditures, and their benefits, related to the principal macroeconomics indexes. The main coordinates of the current system of social protection have been analyzed, in comparison with those of other countries, as well as a restructuring of the system in the period to come. The programme has to be finalized no later than early February.

Funar Demands Ban on Hungarian Version of Daily

AU0701161293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Today we received an open letter addressed to Mr. Adrian Nastase, chairman of the Assembly of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament, by Mr. Gheorghe Funar, president of Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], in which Mr. Funar draws his attention on the fact that—under the authority of the Chamber of Deputies—MONITORUL OFICIAL [OFFICIAL MONITOR] is issued in two languages. Mr. Gheorghe Funar demands in his letter that the publishing of Romania's MONITORUL OFICIAL in Hungarian language should be stopped.

Mr. Adrian Nastase, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, was contacted by one of our correspondents and has made the following statement: The issue raised in the open letter of PUNR President Gheorghe Funar was decided by the Standing Bureau of the Chamber of Deputies. I would like to remind you that PUNR has a representative in the Standing Bureau—PUNR Vice President Ioan Gavra. However, I have decided to have [PUNR] President Gheorghe Funar's open letter distributed among members of the Standing Bureau so that it could be discussed during the next meeting of that body, Chamber of Deputies Chairman Adrian Nastase said in conclusion.

Romanian Press Reacts To Call for Referendum

AU0601205993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1457 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/1/1993—The nearing Congress of the Intellectuals in the Republic of Moldova—scheduled for January 9—occasions new comments in the Romanian newspapers.

That congress—writes daily newspaper COTIDIANUL—was called, according to the initiators, by a group of 52 political and cultural personalities who signed an appeal to the Moldovan intellectuals that asked them to counter the referendum proposed by President Mircea Snegur on the future of the Republic of Moldova.

Two thousand delegates from all over the republic are expected to come, said poet and deputy Nicolae Dabija to the correspondent of news agency BASA from Chisinau, quoted by COTIDIANUL.

"The idea of a referendum—Nicolae Dabija pointed out—is absurd, since the country's independence has been recognized by over 120 states of the world. And what's more, the only ones who plead for this referendum are those who had a particular fondness for the former USSR."

In his turn, Constantin Obroc, former first deputy prime minister, told the same agency he was unaware that such an opinion poll on the future of the second Romanian state, Moldova, might be the result of a government decision. In other words, writes COTIDIANUL, the opinion poll "has no legal basis."

"My opinion is that the referendum is a great sin, a crime," Poet Grigore Vieru told BASA. "It is hostile to the nation and cannot be accepted after this people underwent a moral deformation and a deformation of its soul for 150 years." In his opinion "so long as Bessarabia's severance from its motherland was not the result of a referendum, the necessity for one is nil. Those who press us into it shall be answerable before the nation and god."

Quoting observers from Chisinau, Romanian daily newspaper EVENIMENTUL ZILEI notes that, at the initiative of President Snegur, these days the well-known methods are used again to counter the reactuation of the Bessarabian Metropolitanate seated in Chisinau as part of the Romanian Orthodox Church. That event was the spark that triggered the heating up of the political atmosphere in the Republic of Moldova over the last few days of 1992 and determined the anti-unionist stand taken by President Snegur.

Thus, according to Chisinau sources of EVENIMENTUL ZILEI, over the last few days of December 1992 even deputies from Transdniestria were seen on the corridors of the Moldovan Parliament in Chisinau. The Transdniestrian deputies usually boycott the debates. According to the constitution two-thirds of the deputies' votes are necessary in order to sanction a referendum.

Parliamentary sources (who wished to remain anonymous) informed EVENIMENTUL ZILEI that in order to have the Moldovan president's referendum proposal sanctioned the conservative parliamentary groups would even resort to asking support from the Russian-speaking Transdniestrian deputies.

The same newspaper publishes information from Chisinau that the high-ranking priests who have kept their allegiance to Moscow have asked their congregations to write adhesion telegrams to President Snegur. The information also shows that several congregations have already conformed to the request.

Similar urgings were received from the respective superior authorities by the local Mayor's Offices, who were asked to express their agreement to the referendum.

PNL Seen as 'Only Possible Alternative' Force

AU0701124193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0839 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1993—In an exclusive to ROMPRES national agency, Radu Campeanu, Chairman of the National Liberal Party [PNL], assessed that in the three years that have passed since the re-establishment of the party he leads, PNL has become "an alternative political force in Romania, maybe the only alternative force. Although this party lost the elections

now [in September 1992], for reasons which I do not care to recall, the PNL is still the only possible alternative to the current power," Radu Campeanu mentioned.

"I do not want to polemize with anyone. It is maybe too early yet to draw conclusions about the activity of those who claim to be the only opposition in Romania now. Anyway, what can be said so far, after three months of parliamentary activity, is that the contribution of the opposition is negative. A great many people think that although the opposition parliamentarians are more numerous now, they have less weight in the parliamentary activity than the previous parliamentarians. From what can be seen, those who claim today to represent the opposition do not make an alternative or a serious, rational resistance to the present government. All these make me believe that the future belongs to us, because we represent the outlook that may be an effective solution to our economic problems. At the same time, as we are a resilient and real political structure, we are attacked by the right and the left alike, precisely because we represent a serious alternative."

Regarding the future of the liberal movement, Radu Campeanu declared for the seeking out of a form of unification of all liberal fractions. "I am sure this way can lead to very good results, if animosities and especially personal ambitions disappear," PNL Chairman Radu Campeanu stated.

PNL-CD, PNL-Young Wing Merger Discussed

AU0701162393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1349 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1993—"Let us all rally and make a large liberal party," said Vintila Bratianu, chairman of the National Liberal Party-the Democratic Convention [PNL-CD], in an interview with the newspaper LIBERTATEA.

Reminding that reunification virtually includes the National Liberal Party-the Democratic Convention and the National Liberal Party-the Young Wing, Vintila Bratianu did not exclude the possibility of unifying all the forces of a liberal orientation, although the National Liberal Party and the New Liberal Party did not clarify their stances.

As for a merger with the National Liberal Party, Bratianu said: "Campeanu is no longer a liberal. I do not trust him. He pushed out of the party a number of people whom he found difficult to handle." Referring to the allegiance to the Democratic Convention, the chairman of the National Liberal Party-the Democratic Convention said: "We must not break the convention. Mr. Emil Constantinescu is well-known and he is the only one able to maintain the convention united, because we still have to fight."

The liberal movement in Romania resumed its activity after the revolution in December 1989. On January 6, 1990 the National Liberal Party was formed and in the May 1990 elections it won a number of seats in parliament. Later on there was misunderstanding inside the party and its unity was broken. The National Liberal Party-the Young Wing, the New Liberal Party and the National Liberal Party-the Democratic Convention were formed and they coexist in Romania's political life, along with the National Liberal Party.

Andreescu Rules Out Withdrawal From CDR

AU0701180293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1453 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1992—In an interview with the newspaper "22," which is brought out in the Romanian capital city, Gabriel Andreescu, chairman of the Civic Alliance, shows there is no contradiction in the fact that the Civic Alliance, which is not a political party, is part of an electoral alliance. However, its impact on the electorate is stronger than that of other parliamentary parties.

He considers a bad idea for the Civic Alliance to leave the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], which includes numerous parties devoid of all importance. "The alliance," he points out, "takes part in the proceedings of the Democratic Convention adding to it energy and may intervene in supporting the election campaign. I think that the Democratic Convention formula should be defended as its parties are still weak in comparison with the forces that favor restauration and they alone cannot do too much."

In conclusion the Civic Alliance leader said: "If the Democratic Convention manages to create specific electoral structures, groups of experts and legislative drafts then it will have chances to place first in the future elections. If not, it will operate as a life buoy for smaller parties."

Owen: Serb Demand Does Not 'Fit Into' Plan

LD0701143693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1342 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 7 (TANJUG)—A cochairman of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen told the Zagreb weekly GLOBUS that all problems in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina seemed to him solvable "except the Serb demand for their own republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina".

This would in fact be a state within a state, and there is no way this could fit into our peace plan, Lord Owen said.

Lord Owen made a stopover in Zagreb on his way to Belgrade, where he and Cyrus Vance, the other conference co-chairman, conferred on Wednesday [6 January] with President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The meetings in Belgrade focused on the Geneva talks on resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which started on January 2 and at which the Bosnian Serbs repeated their concept of a Bosnia-Hercegovina as a confederation of its three peoples: Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

Asked if a possibility existed of a lifting of the embargo of arms deliveries to Bosnia if its Serbs exhibited intransigence in the Geneva talks, Lord Owen answered with a question: "Would this not allow even more arms to be brought to a Bosnia-Hercegovina already full of weapons, only adding new fuel to the flames of the war".

Commenting on his and Vance's plan for resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and their map envisaging its division into ten provinces with far-reaching autonomy, Owen said that he did not think the plan was perfect, but that one had to start from something.

The provinces were drawn according to ethnic, geographic and historical criteria, and a central government would represent them only in the foreign policy area, he said.

The Geneva talks, which assemble military and political representatives of the three warring sides and the presidents of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, will resume on January 10.

Karadzic Rejects Arms Withdrawal, Map Plan

AU0701135393 Paris AFP in English 1252 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Report by Helene Despic Popovic]

[Text] BELGRADE, Jan 7 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs are sticking to their negotiating positions while leaving the door open for movement at the stalled Geneva peace talks, which resume on Sunday [10 January].

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, in a message televised for the Orthodox Christmas, called on "Serbs not to worry about the way the Geneva negotiations are going."

"The essential thing is the result, which, given that we are working toward it once and for all, will be the one the Serbian people wants", he declared.

The Bosnian Serbs were cheered by support from Dobrica Cosic, president of the Serbian-dominated rump Yugoslav federation in his Christmas message, broadcast on the eve of the religious festival, in which he appealed to the West to change its negative policy towards Yugoslavia.

Karadzic described the first phase of the Geneva talks, adjourned on Tuesday, as "favourable". "Work on the map (of Bosnia-Hercegovina) has not finished as far as we are concerned," he said, but stressed "it's a big step forward that the ethnic principle has been implicitly recognised."

He remains adamantly opposed to point two of the constitutional plan drawn up by U.N. negotiator Cyrus Vance and E.C. envoy Lord Owen, which stipulates that the 10 future Bosnian provinces must be an integral part of Bosnia and not legal entities.

"We want our sovereignty, our freedom, our autonomy in the sense of independence on our territory, without which I think there can be no question of sovereignty for the people," he said.

He also rejected calls for the withdrawal of heavy weapons, saying that this would "give the other side a strategic advantage." In his view the idea of a united Bosnian state today was "a dream", while the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] on territory won by the Serbs was "a reality." He said the leaders of Bosnia's Serbs "cannot, and do not have the right to betray the Serbian people."

Karadzic signaled that he had in no way given up his quest to see a Serbian state created within Bosnia, a goal which has been unanimously rejected by the international community and which sparked the adjournment of the Geneva talks.

Only hours after Vance and Owen left Belgrade, where they had come to seek support for their peace plan, President Cosic issued his message to the nation attacking their proposals as being biased against the Serbs. While saying there were "still reasons to hope", he warned that the Geneva talks would crucially decide whether the United States and the European Community would go to war against Bosnian Serbs, thereby also threatening Serbia and Montenegro.

Serbs faced a stark choice "between political and military surrender and an attack from the most powerful countries in the world," he declared.

His speech was not commented on in the press or by Serbia's political parties, to which the president appealed to unite to form a government of national salvation.

Karadzic: 'Not Difficult' To Buy Nuclear Weapons

LD0701142693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, said in an interview with the Zagreb weekly GLOBUS that he agrees that the war should end by political means, even by a compromise and at the price of losing something. "We do not agree, however, to give up the right to self-defense," Karadzic stressed.

Asked by GLOBUS whether Bosnian Serbs have nuclear weapons, Karadzic said Serbs will defend themselves by all available means. "It is not difficult to procure nuclear weapons on the open market, even if we do not have them," Karadzic said.

Asked about the proposed map of Bosnia, Karadzic said it "is just a starting point" acceptable for further work.

"We are not giving up what Mate Boban, the leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats, said: that there are three nations, three sovereign nations whose sovereignty is manifested in consensus rule and in territorial division," Karadzic said.

He warned that the war will continue if someone wants to reintegrate Bosnia again because, according to Karadzic, Bosnia "is naturally divided into three entities" and can exist only as a confederation.

Izetbegovic Will Not Meet U.S. Officials

LD0701203493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1958 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] New York, January 7 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic said he would not meet with representatives of the current U.S. administration or with those of the future Administration in Washington, at a press conference in the U.N. Headquarters in New York on Thursday [7 January]. Izetbegovic said he hoped to meet with some congressmen and journalists.

The U.S. press said on Thursday that Cochairman of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance had asked current and future Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Warren Christopher, respectively, not to meet with Izetbegovic ahead of the continuation of the Geneva peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The NEW YORK TIMES writes that Vance had assessed that contacts between Izetbegovic and top U.S. officials would jeopardize, at a very delicate moment, the negotiating process in Geneva, aimed at resolving the crisis in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Negotiations on the ending of the nine-months-long ethnic war began on January 2 in Geneva with the mediation of Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. They are being attended by the political and military representatives of all three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina (Moslems, Serbs and Croats) and the Yugoslav and Croatian presidents. Negotiations will continue on January 10.

The Moslem side, however, continues its efforts at effecting the lifting of the arms embargo and at winning the favour of the international community in bringing about a military intervention against Serbs in Bosnia.

Ganic Says Geneva Conference Maps Not Acceptable

AU0701162493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Commentary by Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency; place, date not given—recorded]

[Text] Well, as you know, the Geneva Conference came up with three separate documents. One concerns the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, another the removal of the heavy artillery and its placement under international control, and the third consists of maps of possible regions in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

These maps are not acceptable because they do not reflect the principle agreed upon earlier which had the regions constituted according to development and economic programs, including the ethnic structure of the population, of course. The proposed map rewards the aggressor in a way because some territories where the aggressor has carried out ethnic cleansing, prior to which the non-Serbian population had been in the majority, now are joined to the territories under the aggressor's present control. This is unacceptable both on moral grounds and also because no one has the right to give away anybody's property, and forget about all that has happened.

The conference will continue, but I have to admit that I am not optimistic about anything being achieved. I hope I am wrong. I am not optimistic for the simple reason that Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president] and his associates, who have been practically named as war criminals and who are responsible for horrible crimes, cannot really settle in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They really cannot accept Bosnia-Hercegovina as a normal state because all war criminals, if they survive the war and the subsequent trial, end their lives in certain dictatorships of the type one finds in South America. Therefore the negotiations are of a personal nature for the leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party, and not the Serbian people in Bosnia. That is why we have to make a distinction between the two and warn the international community that Karadzic, as the executor of the aggression drawn up by the Belgrade regime, should be sidelined. The Serbian people in Bosnia, who are represented in the Presidency and the

government, and many people who have not bloodied their hands and are in some of the occupied territories can, and I am sure, will and do accept Bosnia as their country because Bosnia is the state of the Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian people.

Our [word indistinct] diplomatic activities have been aimed at further revealing (?this aggression) to the world. However, and I stress this, everything we have achieved so far has been achieved on the ground, thanks to our armed resistance, thanks to the fighters on the front lines, and [word indistinct] achieve in future, most of it will be done by our fighters.

UN Envoy: Military Action Could Hinder Aid

AU0701185293 Paris AFP in English 1846 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 7 (AFP)—Western military action in Bosnia would have repercussions on the work of the UN High Commission for Refugees, said the UNHCR's special envoy, Jose Maria Mendiluce, here Thursday [7 January].

His warning comes the day after the chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia, the UN's Cyrus Vance and the European Community's Lord Owen, met the Serbian government in Belgrade to try to ensure that the Bosnian Serbs, who have the military advantage, accept the proposed peace plan.

Western diplomats have said that if the conference, which resumes Sunday, fails, the United States, Britain and France would most probably take military action against Serbia to enforce the UN-imposed no-fly zone over Bosnia.

"Clearly any UN military action will have repercussions (for us), and will make it very difficult (for the UNHCR) to work in certain areas," Mendiluce told journalists at a press conference in the Bosnian capital.

"The situation is worrying," he said. He said he hoped that those powers seeking to enforce the no-fly zone would "consider the humanitarian aid operation".

Mendiluce announced the UNHCR was going to double its personnel in Sarajevo, which presently consists of six foreign staff and 90 local employees. However, he said, the UN agency was close to reaching the limits of what it could do for refugees in Sarajevo, which has been under Serbian siege since April.

The agency's work was impeded by the commanders of the local Serb, Croat and Muslim forces, as well as by the snow and the frequent suspension of flights into the city—caused by fighting around the airport, as well as bad weather.

The envoy said the city's Serb commanders had promised him they would take steps to improve the flow of aid, in particular allowing lorries carrying wood to enter Sarajevo. To improve cooperation with Serb forces, the UNHCR would "probably" open an office in Pale, the Serbian stronghold 15 kilometres (nine miles) outside the city, Mendiluce said.

Lasic Says Reason for War 'No Longer Exists'

LD0701152693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1453 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Madrid, Jan 7 (TANJUG)—Commander of the Croatian Armed Forces in Hercegovina Miljenko Lasic said in an interview published in the Thursday [7 January] issue of the Spanish newspaper EL MUNDO that in his view the war between the local Serbs and Croats in Hercegovina was finished.

"In the worst possible case, the war is very close to its end. Our forces are on a par with those of the Serbs militarily. There no longer exists any reason for us to keep killing each other. The Serbs are no longer capable of conquering new territories, and we have no interest in taking what they are holding. The war will end with negotiations. It will be ended by politicians—they started it and let them end it," he said.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has for over nine months been the scene of a civil and religious war between its local Moslems and (Catholic) Croats, assisted by regular army troops from neighbouring Croatia, and the local (Orthodox) Serbs.

The conflict escalated after the European Community on April 7 last year recognized the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the request of its Moslems (44 per cent of the overall population) and Croats (17 per cent) and against the wishes of the Serbs, who make up 31 per cent of its population.

Lasic said that in his view Hercegovina was at this moment a part of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but that he hoped politicians would at a later date find a lasting solution for it.

The Bosnian Croats have created their own state community—Herceg-Bosnia—in western and southern Hercegovina, which has a majority Croat population and where most of the over 60,000 regular Croatian Army troops now in Bosnia-Hercegovina are deployed.

Lasic said the current sporadic clashes and attacks on Stolac, in eastern Hercegovina, as well as on other positions, were not ordered by the Serb Command but were the actions of uncontrolled Serb groups acting on their own initiative.

Asked about the level of cooperation with Bosnian Moslem forces, Lasic said it was good. "Our interests at the moment are identical, although our policies are very different," he added.

At the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina which are being held within the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia and which started on January 2 and will be continued on January 10, Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban has

already placed his signature under the offered documents on a future constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina and peace.

Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, however, expressed a number of serious objections to the proposed provincial borders, while Serb leader Radovan Karadzic assessed as unacceptable unitary elements featured in the proposed constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Moslems Demand Arms or Military Intervention

LD0601184493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Bonn, January 6 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem representatives reiterated their demand for the international community to lift the embargo on arms deliveries to the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or to undertake "a limited military intervention", at a press conference on Wednesday [6 January] in Bonn.

Haris Silajdzic, foreign minister in the government loyal to Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, did not say if his government had agreed to the Geneva formula set forth by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia]. Silajdzic accused the Serbian side of turning down the formula and called on Germany to urge a lifting of the arms embargo.

Silajdzic underscored that a solution of the conflict was possible "only if all arms were placed under international control." Silajdzic accused all Western countries (with the exception of Germany), the European Community and the United Nations "of supporting the aggressor in all actions so far." He was especially critical of Great Britain, France and Russia for opposing a military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

An ethnic and religious war has been raging in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the past nine months between a Moslem-Croatian coalition aided by regular Croatian troops and mercenaries against the Bosnian Serbs.

The first round of peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina which started on January 2, passed in obstructions by the Moslem side which openly counts on a foreign military intervention, in spite of efforts by the international community for finding a political solution, something the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its President Dobrica Cosic are working hard at.

Serb Aircraft Reportedly Bomb Srebrenica

AU0701210693 Paris AFP in English 2037 GMT 07 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Jan 7 (AFP)—Heavy shelling rocked hills northwest and southwest of the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital Sarajevo Thursday [7 January] evening, while some shells fell in the center of the city.

A shell fell near the Holiday Inn hotel in central Sarajevo, where most foreign journalists stay, shortly after 6:30 p.m. The artillery duels were however mostly in the hills of Vogosca and Zuc to the northwest and Mojmilo to the southwest, where mainly Bosnian forces are trying to advance against the Serbs.

Meanwhile, in Zagreb the Croatian news agency HINA reported that Serb planes had made an air raid Thursday morning against Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia.

Citing amateur radio operators in the town, near the border with Serbia, HINA said Srebrenica was bombed twice by Serb planes at about 12:45 p.m. (1145 GMT), causing "a considerable number of casualties."

The town and its suburbs were also hit by heavy artillery barrages, HINA said. Srebrenica is a Moslem region that has been surrounded by Serb forces for several months. The town had a population of 40,000 before the war, 75 percent of them Moslems. [passage omitted]

Spain To Accept 1500 'Mothers and Children'

LD0601172693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1246 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 6 (TANJUG)—"Spain has decided to accept 1,500 mothers and children from the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina," Josep Palau, international coordinator of the Movement for Peace, Human Rights and Liberties, and member of the Presidency of the Civil Assembly of the Helsinki Act, has told TANJUG.

Palau said that the refugees would be accepted by Spanish families and that the action was privately funded.

The Spanish Government will also accept another one thousand people from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Palau said, adding that some 10,000 Spanish families had thus far expressed a wish to host refugees from Bosnia. Spain last summer accepted 200 boys and girls from Bosnia-Hercegovina for a short summer stay, Palau said.

Palau is currently on a visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Serbian Information Ministry. Asked about the resolution of the Bosnian crisis, Palau said an international military intervention was impossible, inconceivable and pointless because Bosnia had already disintegrated in the manner of former Yugoslavia.

When the time comes for Bosnia's reconstruction, it will have to be a part of the reconstruction of the entire Yugoslavia, he said, warning that before this was done all ethnic tensions had to be eliminated in former Yugoslavia.

Asked about the sanctions imposed by the U.N. Security Council against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Palau said he thought the sanctions should remain and in fact be expanded to the former Yugoslav Republic of

Croatia. "The embargo on arms deliveries to Bosnian Moslems must under no circumstances be lifted," he stressed.

On May 30 last year the U.N. Security Council imposed tough economic and political sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is made up of Serbia and Montenegro, two of the former Yugoslavia's six republics, on account of its alleged involvement in the civil war in breakaway Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia completed its withdrawal from Bosnia-Hercegovina on May 19 last year, and has since taken no part in the hostilities there.

Regular troops of the Croatian Army, on the other hand, have entered deep into Bosnia-Hercegovina territory, assisting the local Croats and Moslems in their fight against the Bosnian Serbs, who oppose the secessionist policy of the Moslem-Croat coalition which is in power in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Croat Official on Muslim Political Control

93BA0406C Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA (Europe edition) in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 92 p 32

[Article by Dz. Kolukcija: "Foreign Affairs Under Control of the Democratic Action Party"]

[Text] Mostar—Because of the considerably diminished activity of the Serbian aggressor on the Mostar battlefield, the war bulletin of the Main Command of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] on Tuesday [22 December] was very brief. The aggressor is continuing provocations along the entire line of the front, and the Mostar Hydroelectric Power Plant was again a target of his artillery. Fighting men of the HVO and Army of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] had no losses, and they did not respond to attacks.

The central place in the regular press conference of the Main Command of the HVO was the statement made by Franjo Boras, member of the B-H Presidency. He put the question of whether and how the Presidency can respond to its constitutional obligations in Sarajevo, which is surrounded and destroyed, when that is its seat. Franjo Boras says that the function of foreign representation of B-H has been taken over entirely by two persons: Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, and Haris Silajdzic, foreign minister. Mr. Izetbegovic acts on foreign missions sometimes like the leader of a state delegation and sometimes like the leader of the government delegation, Boras said, while Silajdzic takes all three roles. Both have sometimes headed delegations of the SDA [Democratic Action Party], Boras says, adding that the same thing is true with the appointment of ambassadors, consuls, and other representatives abroad, 90 percent of whom are Muslims. Ganic often becomes involved here, says Boras. He also explained that technical control of foreign travel, and one might also say essential control of the foreign affairs of B-H, is being conducted by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. After all, every time he leaves Sarajevo, Mr. Izetbegovic must file an application in Geneva and explain where he is going and to whom he is going to talk. It is not hard to conclude that foreign affairs are under control of the SDA, and even the UNPROFOR has more control than the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], Boras said. If some kind of equality is to be reestablished in this area, the HDZ needs to insist on two things—that the seat of the Presidency be moved from Sarajevo to some place under control of the HVO and Army of B-H, and second, that both the president of the Presidency and foreign minister cannot be Muslims, but that one post should go to the Croatian people. Concerning the reelection of Alija Izetbegovic, Boras said that the B-H HDZ will reexamine this question in a friendly dialogue with the SDA, but it will unfailingly take into account that the foreign minister and president of the Presidency cannot come from the same nationality.

On Tuesday, in Mostar a commemorative meeting and funeral was conducted for the defenders who were killed and whose bodies could be obtained only now because of the malice of the Serbian aggressor, although many of them died back in July. While the entire city was in true mourning for its heroes, the funeral was attended by the highest representatives of the civilian and military authorities of the Croatian and Muslim peoples.

Banja Luka Court Against Paramilitary Soldiers

93BA0407C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by M.M.: "22 'Soldiers' Before a Military Court"]

[Text] Banja Luka—Military judicial authorities in Banja Luka have instituted criminal proceedings against 22 members of paramilitary formations. They have violated the order of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic on placing all armed formations under the command of units of the Army of the Serbian Republic. All the individuals are in military pretrial confinement.

There is warranted suspicion that on 3 and 4 November of this year these "heroes" committed crimes in Donji Zabar near Samac, detained 11 members of the Army of the Serbian Republic without reason, and imprisoned persons without authorization, on which occasion one of the members of the Army of the Serbian Republic lost his life.

The press center of the 1st Krajina Corps also announces that this group has been attempting to close the corridor which connects the krajinas with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Commentary Views Milosevic Reelection

AU0701130693 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24, 25, 26 Dec 92 p 2

[Commentary by Ivica Marijacic: "Peace and Power"]

[Text] Since the events on occupied Croatian territory are nothing more than a direct projection of Belgrade's political ideas, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's "electoral" victory can only mean a step backwards in the general attempts to restore Croatia's legal authority over this territory. It is common knowledge that in the so-called krajinas, Milosevic has been elevated to a mythical level because it was precisely he who introduced the most poisonous extremism with all its protagonists as an instrument of his imperialistic policy.

It is unlikely that in the case of FRY Prime Minister Milan Panic's victory the "krajisnici" [people from the krajina] would remain without a tutor and would be sentenced to rapid defeat, because even the mildest of Serbian options ultimately turns out to be nothing more than a veneer under which everything seethes from desire for the "centuries-old Serbian lands." What is likely, however, is that with Milosevic's victory, the rebel Serbs in the Croatian "krajinas" will persist even more in their grotesque idea about a Serbia within "western borders," and in this way freeze all the consequences we are witness to and that are deeply frustrating for the people.

For the diplomatic world, which maybe knows what should be done in the Balkans but does not know how to do it, this will constitute a new challenge. The international political establishment has had for collocutors up to now warehouse workers, drivers, all kinds of illiterate lay-politicians, and even notorious bandits and terrorists. Expecting Panic's victory, it had hoped it would now get people who would respect arguments, logic, common sense, ethics, and the law. Now that these expectations have been swept away by the Serbian wind, the diplomatic world faces a dilemma: whether to accept a few more humiliations and talk to unworthy people, or to finally bare its teeth. However, this is not only a question of saving the honor and dignity of eminent diplomats, but a question of war or peace.

Namely, the outlaw authorities in the "krajinas," inspired by the victory of their mythical leader [vozd], will not allow their "spoils of war" to be divided and Croatia will not be able to endlessly bear the "results of the aggression" out of the simple reason that a freezing of the present state of things would constitute an unjust solution. How to achieve a just solution and yet not cause a resurgence of war in Croatia will be the issue that international diplomacy will agonize over in the coming period. In the end, the rich and powerful will conclude what is already known: there is no solution until the usurper receives his just punishment, in one way or another. All the international peace guarantors, if they really want peace on this territory, now have a chance to assert their power.

Tudjman Talks With Krajina Representatives

93BA0406D Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 92 p 2

[Article by the Croatian News Agency: "The Serbs Accept Croatia's System"]

[Text] Zagreb (HINA)—Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the republic, received on Thursday in the Presidential Palace a delegation of the Community of Serbs in Croatia headed by the community's president, Prof. Borivoje Arsenijevic; other members were Milan Skoric, chairman of the Executive Committee; Veselin Pejnovic, chairman of the community's commission for human rights; and Milan Djukic, president of the Serbian People's Party and a member of the community.

They informed President Tudjman about the work and activities of the community, especially about the effort being made to normalize relations between the Croatian people and citizens of Serbian nationality in Croatia, and also about preparations for local elections in the temporarily occupied areas of Croatia.

On that occasion, the representatives of the Community of Serbs said that most Serbs in the regions under UN protection are ready to accept the constitutional system of the Republic of Croatia, which guarantees respect for all ethnic and human rights, but that extremist Serbian elements are preventing them from doing this even with weapons.

There was also discussion of the problems and difficulties the Community of Serbs in Croatia faces every day, especially the lack of office space and financing.

Having expressed understanding for the problems they face, the president of the republic agreed with the initiative to form a joint body consisting of members of the Community of Serbs in Croatia and Assembly deputies of Serbian nationality, which would coordinate activities toward the fastest possible reestablishment of the constitutional system over the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia.

The meeting was also attended by Tomislav Sutalo, the president's domestic policy adviser.

Weekly Views Serb-Croat Relations, War Prospects

93BA0406A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 92 p 10

[Article by Nenad Petrovic: "1993, a New War Year"]

[Text] Will the boomerang of war come back to the areas of Krajina and Croatia at the beginning of the coming year? Judging by the dominant political (and national) sentiments in these areas, an affirmative answer is more certain than the pacifistic forecasts.

The political options in Krajina and Croatia, confronting one another to the point of mutual exclusion, have not been corrected. The Krajina government, but also the most important political factors (Dr. Milan Babic's Krajina SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] and Rade Leskovac's Krajina SRS [Serbian Radical Party]), are united in defending the position that Krajina will never again be part of Croatia. The same level of agreement also exists on the Croatian side, but the goal is the opposite—"recovery of the lost territories."

The dialogue that has been initiated at the level of the Joint Commission has been interrupted. Criticism of the Vance Plan is coming from both sides. If the international community tries to impose a special status on Krajina, the messages from Knin are unambiguous: There remains only "war or exodus." The same belligerent messages have been reiterated in Zagreb for now the second year, accompanied by demands that the world put pressure on the "rebellious Serbs and the regime in Serbia." It does not suit Croatia to extend the mandate of the UN peacekeeping forces, as indicated by the threats that Croatia, with the help of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] or without it, will "recover the lost territories before March 1993." The Krajina authorities, however, are placing their hopes precisely on extension of the mandate of the "blue helmets," in the belief that maintaining the status quo favors realization of the option of making Krajina a state. The fact that the UNPROFOR has not fulfilled its key obligation as stated in the Vance Plan of "guaranteeing peace and security of the population is used as the main argument for extension of the peacekeeping mission of the United Nations, and it is backed up by figures on the nearly 800 cases of violations of the truce by the Croatian forces and more than 300 Krajina people killed."

Orchestrated Single-Mindedness

The nervousness, nevertheless, is more pronounced on the Croatian side. At approximately the same time in 1990, the Croatian leaders were saying that "the people in Knin will not celebrate Christmas in their own homes." A year later, Franjo Tudjman was predicting that the war would be over before the Catholic Christmas and that then the "checkerboard flag" would fly on the Knin fortress. Now the same promises are being repeated, but with considerably more strident threats and with the deadline shifted to March 1993, when the mandate of the UN peacekeeping forces expires.

The orchestrated national single-mindedness, with generous help from Croatian TV, is culminating. Recently, however, an article appeared in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA warning that the consequences could be tragic if Croatia decides on war. The old statement by Darko Bekic, who once was Tudjman's adviser, has again become relevant: "We have become victims of our own historical frustration and impatience." The Split newspaper puts emphasis on Bekic's statement and opposes the current outcries along the lines of "into battle for our people." At the same time, this statement indirectly imparts an additional dimension to interpretations concerning the cause-and-effect connection between the outbreak of war on the space of the former socialist Croatia.

We can hardly expect that these tones and warnings that Croatia must not take a hasty plunge, although the pressure of national frustration (especially from the exiles) is horribly immense, will be heeded. The reason does not lie solely in the fact that the warnings are coming from a newspaper which the Supreme Command has been accusing of Yugounitarism, nor that opinions are one-sided to the effect that Croatia is threatening with an "empty gun" and that the threats have an exclusively "therapeutic" function to maintain the level of "patriotism."

That is, the political and economic pressure from the more than 600,000 refugees in Croatia is truly enormous. Nor are those people abroad who invested a lot of money in bringing about the "millennial dream" indifferent. In order to tone down the criticism of itself, the Croatian Government broadened the "list of those responsible" to include the UNPROFOR, which has already resulted in more frequent physical attacks on the UN peacekeepers in Croatia. The refugees are making a particular uproar against them. Everyone knows about the Croatian announcement of a large-scale return of the refugees, for whose failure the UNPROFOR would be blamed, and Tudjman is again announcing that they will return by the end of this year "by hook or by crook."

The Pressures Are Not Relenting

The question also arises whether the current attitude of the Croatian Government on the Serbian nationality question is not a preparation for an armed showdown with the "rebellious Serbs." The Croatian Government has "offered" the Serbs in Krajina the Law on Amnesty, and then it immediately revised that law indirectly by passing the Law on Protection of the Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity of the Republic of Croatia, whose effect is retroactive. The Croatian newspapers are full of lists of "Chetniks" against whom indictments have been filed. Nor is there any change in the attitude toward the Serbs in Croatia. The pressures are not relenting, from those psychological pressures, then statements that the Serbs are a fifth column, to physical attacks, murders, and demolition of houses. Recently, the attention of the world public was drawn to the news of a physical attack on a British soldier in Split, where soon thereafter a little cafe was bombed where representatives of the UNPROFOR had gathered. The justification was found in the "population's resentment of the blue helmets," but nowhere was it published that the little cafe was owned by a Serb. Zivko Kolega, mayor of Zadar, according to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, even complained to Tudjman that "the bombing of houses in Zadar has become frequent," and that this must be prevented, "regardless of whose they are." "Every bombing is preceded by

looting, and this is the principal reason for the demolition," Kolega says, although it is quite well-known whose houses are being bombed and what the real reason is.

It is much the same in Gospic, Sisak, and Zagreb, and Serbian sources, referring to statements of refugees, say that 600 Serbian houses have been demolished in Karlovac. If this had been on the other side, the international community would long ago have referred to that practice by its real name—ethnic cleansing.

The Croatian war cries and this kind of "resolution" of the question of the fifth column are not just attempts to calm down their own public. The weight of responsibility for resuming the war is on the Croatian side, which is holding its lighter to the new fuse of war in these parts.

Defense Minister Susak on Intervention

93BA0408A Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 92 p 9

[Interview with Gojko Susak, minister of defense of the Republic of Croatia, by Dunja Ujevic; place and date not given: "Intervention Depends on Sarajevo"]

[Text] In many respects, Croatia as a state is a "special case." Having recognized its status as a victim in the war, the creators of world relations have been tactically favoring its enemy. When it emerged from the global war, war occurred in a republic neighboring it, and until that war is brought to an end, there is no peace in Croatia either. Will a formula finally be found for Bosnia, or will war move back to Croatia? And what does the world really want here? We talked about that with Gojka Susak, defense minister of the Republic of Croatia.

[Ujevic] Mr. Susak, the most recent news report, from which we judged how events are developing on our terrain, is that the United Nations has called up NATO to help in planning further military action in the former Yugoslavia, including the use of force in enforcing the no-fly zone over B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina]. Can that be interpreted as an encouragement of intervention by the United States, or as the seeking of an alibi for the policy we have had up to now of encouraging Serbian aggression?

[Susak] That is difficult to figure out. Were intervention to occur, it would be carried out by NATO, with the blessing of the United Nations, of course. We are actually in a dilemma of whether we are dealing here with a change of direction in the rhetoric or preparation of a specific action. It could be both, and both depend on Sarajevo. If Sarajevo is about to fall, intervention is inevitable. On the basis of Clinton's and Eagleburger's statements, should intervention occur, it will occur before Clinton's inauguration, not afterward, as is usually thought. This month, then, is decisive. It is true that there are signs of an intervention, but a definite answer cannot be made.

[Ujevic] Can the three proposed versions of the no-fly zone operation ever establish a balance of power in B-H? Finally, that ban has been in effect there for a long time.

[Susak] A specific action that would prevent overflights would be the minimum that could be done. A ban which allows the Serbs the position that "helicopters are not part of the blockade" in actuality means nothing. Because of such a ban, Mladic [Serb commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina] has just been able to go to Okucani by helicopter. So, the most effective solution would be to bomb the arms factories and major arms stores of the Serbs and their airfields. And that can be done.

[Ujevic] Is it realistic to expect that?

[Susak] Again, everything depends on the situation in Sarajevo. That kind of intervention could quite realistically be expected if Alija Izetbegovic [Bosnian president] and the Muslims took a different stance. Izetbegovic is insisting on removal of the embargo against the importation of arms and on intervention, but he is not offering solutions for ending the war. The Muslims are behaving altogether unreasonably in Geneva, nowhere are they showing sufficient wisdom. Izetbegovic is now refusing to talk to the Serbs—as though he cannot do this after all that has happened. Just as he weighed whether he wanted to talk to Raseta [former JNA general]. But he was a fact that could not be got around. Incidentally, we are not the ones to decide who will negotiate in the name of the Serbs.

[Ujevic] Is Mr. Izetbegovic competent to conduct talks? Can he be viewed as the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina at all?

[Susak] Alija is in an impossible situation, but that is the consequence of his own policy. It is because of that same policy that Croatia is in an unenviable situation because of B-H, as indeed are the Croats in Bosnia as well. Under the B-H Constitution, Izetbegovic is one of the members of the Presidency there, but in the framework of the three constituent nationalities, he is the representative of one of them. However, he presents his credentials according to the occasion. This is causing additional confusion both in B-H and in the world. In Geneva, he is regarded as the president of a state only because of the circumstances. That position of his is really absurd, but, what can you do, that is the way it is. In any case, we do not have the impression that he controls the Muslims, but for the present there is no one stronger. That confuses and complicates the situation still more.

[Ujevic] Let us get back to Sarajevo. You obviously consider it a strategic point crucial to the development of events. Do you think it could really fall?

[Susak] It will not fall. Because of the balance of power it will not fall. Aside from that, the condemnation of the Serbs that would follow from that would be too risky even for them. And then there are the 400,000 refugees, epidemics. Finally, the legitimacy of the state is bound

up with Sarajevo. Reports to the effect that Sarajevo is about to fall would actually tend to hasten the intervention.

[Ujevic] If NATO should intervene, would bases in Croatia and our airspace also be used?

[Susak] No, they would not. The action would be carried out by the 6th Fleet and quite certainly they would not need overflights over our airspace.

[Ujevic] What would be the political implications of military intervention?

[Susak] The essential thing would be that the Serbs would finally have to talk openly about B-H. They would not talk sincerely, but they would have to talk openly. Second, then they would no longer be able to allow themselves to behave the way they are now behaving. However, there is no intervention until the Muslims decide to negotiate a final solution. The only question is whether Izetbegovic can deliver on what he promises. And then a consequence would be to restore power in the Presidency, either as it was or according to the Geneva formula of a "council of nine" on which each nationality would have three representatives. The basic thing would be preservation of the state's legitimacy.

[Ujevic] What is the real purport of Karadzic's [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president] statement that war in B-H is ceasing on 17 December? Is that a campaign service to Serbia or just another trick?

[Susak] Well, Karadzic makes arbitrary statements.

[Ujevic] But the moves he makes are serious.

[Susak] Yes, unfortunately. I place no confidence in that statement of his. He made a promise in Geneva, and after that there was a relative calm. So, he is in a situation to contribute to a solution if he wants to. Although he himself has problems, because there has been a split in their ranks. Mladic is said to be out of control, so that Karadzic is playing a game among his own people and a game for the outside world.

[Ujevic] What is the importance of the compromise resolution of the CSCE concerning an embargo toward B-H, under which the embargo still remains in effect?

[Susak] Removal of the embargo would signify continuation of the war indefinitely. I do not think that removal of the embargo is the optimum option either for B-H or for the world. What would be gained by that? The Islamic world is delivering arms anyway. That would give Russia the green light to help Serbia, Bosnia would be decimated. In the end, some third party would again enter the game and then do what ought to be done even now.

[Ujevic] You say, then, that military intervention remains in any case the only effective solution?

[Susak] Yes, that and concrete pressure on Serbia. When we signed the truce in Sarajevo in January, you recall, Serbia was at that time not left very much space for violating the agreement. Something of that kind could also be imposed in B-H, and that is already 50 percent of the solution. But again, Izetbegovic is the problem, because he does not want to sit down at the table with the Serbs.

[Ujevic] Ever since the U.S. intelligence service "circulated" the prediction about a spread of the conflict to Sandzak, Macedonia, and Kosovo, and then about the involvement of Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey, the public has taken this as a fait accompli. As though the only remaining question is the date when this will occur. Is it realistic to anticipate that train of events?

[Susak] No, it is not. The Albanians, whatever their statements might say, have an approach identical to the one that Izetbegovic had on the eve of the war in B-H. Rugova's [Albanian leader in Kosovo] policy is this: We are the majority nationality, that is our territory, peace will come sometime. It does not follow from that policy that Kosovo would wage war, and the Macedonians cannot indulge themselves in that because of the balance of power between them and the Albanians. There really is not a single gesture that would suggest that the Macedonians and Albanians would do something. Aside from certain Albanians in Zagreb, who from here would like to see some version of their own of "Croatia to the Drina."

[Ujevic] If that option is not valid, then presumably that also eliminates the thesis which holds that the entire space of the former Yugoslavia should be opened up militarily so that then the entire space would be resolved politically "in one package"?

[Susak] That no longer comes under consideration, and that is clear now. That solution was still outstanding even six months ago, but all the signals coming from the top U.S. leadership indicate that that has been dropped.

[Ujevic] What are the prospects for defending the Orasje triangle? Could a successful defense of Orasje provide the impetus to undertake a campaign to get back Bosanska Posavina [the Sava Valley in Bosnia]?

[Susak] In all the negotiations among the Croats, Muslims, and Serbs in Geneva and in all the plans of Vance, Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia], and Coutilheiro, eight opcinas in Bosanska Posavina are considered Croatian territory. There have been quite enough statements to that effect that what has been conquered militarily can be considered the basis for some future system. That is, that belongs to the Croats and that is how it will be. And the Croats from Posavina and central Bosnia-Hercegovina are doing everything to hold on to as much of that territory as they can. I do not think that it is wise now to take it back by force unless there is no other way. Those eight opcinas were included even in the Banovina of Croatia, and there is no question of their becoming a Croatian canton even in a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina. As for Orasje, it will be held. It will be held although I have received a protest from Mr.

Nambiar [UN Protection Forces commander] about our troops being there. I openly told Vance and Owen that this is true, that there are some of our officers there, just as there are above Dubrovnik. But I said that there is no problem about our withdrawing them if they are ready to offer us protection. The Serbs are smarter. The JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] takes off the star and puts on the cockade, and then there is no longer the JNA. Nevertheless, it should be said that those accusations of theirs no longer have the same weight as they did a few months ago, when they threatened us with sanctions.

[Ujevic] Which means that there is no justified fear that the international community could nevertheless legalize the Serbian conquests?

[Susak] In Croatia, that absolutely does not come under consideration. As for B-H, the question is whether the Serbs will get more territory than their percentage of the population. I personally think that that will happen. The explanation is that they have large opcinas and relatively small population. That is the case, for example, of Ljubinje, Han Pljesak, Gacko, Glamoc. In all of eastern Hercegovina, there are not 100,000 people, but the Serbs are a majority. Grahovo has 6,000 people, yet it is as large as Zenica. But that is the problem of the Muslims, who represent 70 percent in the large cities. Nevertheless, it is not true that the Serbs will retain 70 percent of the territory of B-H. They are holding about 50 percent of the territory there, and in a way, in view of what I have said, that is to some extent justified.

[Ujevic] Well, then Serbia has nevertheless crossed the Drina?

[Susak] Yes, but look on that as you would Bangladesh as a part of Pakistan. In sovereign Bosnia, their position there is determined by the influence of the state as such.

[Ujevic] And is there a justified fear that something like Cyprus could occur in Croatia?

[Susak] There is no question of anything like that.

[Ujevic] What are the possible repercussions for us from the processes taking place on the territory of the former USSR? Could an "Orthodox axis" be generated from that direction?

[Susak] In Russia, the conflict is not between liberals and those who are less liberal, but a conflict between the left and Orthodoxy. We dare not underestimate that danger. If Orthodoxy triumphs, that would be followed by the appeal "All members of Orthodoxy rally round," and that could be a very great concern to us. If the liberals triumph, they will be reasonable enough to allow the Americans to neutralize expansion with loans.

[Ujevic] Which means that there is a threat from Russian "Saint Savism"?

[Susak] Yes, and it is a real danger. Were they to win, the United States would support the countries which have separated, above all Ukraine, and then, for the sake of balance, the Muslim countries as well. That is why Yeltsin is being cagey, and the recent allegedly shocking statement by Kozyrev [Russian foreign minister] is actually water to Yeltsin's mill.

[Ujevic] If we have understood that correctly, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] remains indefinitely. Will it get a mandate to use weapons?

[Susak] The question of whether they will use weapons does not depend on us. The general climate now, taking Bosnia into consideration, is that it is impossible to maintain that kind of mandate any longer and impossible to resolve things in Croatia until they are resolved in B-H. The Krajinas are closely bound up with the outcome in Bosnia-Hercegovina and a firm truce is indispensable. That is in fact our option if the UNPROFOR should be the one to resolve things. The statement of the president of the republic that the mandate will not be renewed should be taken in the context of our not tolerating their ineffectiveness indefinitely. In any case, after Christmas we will sit down and look at the situation. Depending on the redefinition of the status of the UNPROFOR, a decision will be made on whether they will remain or not.

[Ujevic] Is there a chance that war could come back to Croatia?

[Susak] It will not come back. The kind of war we had cannot recur again. There could be war in certain areas. If there is no political solution, war could occur in Baranja or in Knin. But then we would be able to take a quite different stance. We have reorganized the army and I personally am quite satisfied. With the kind of army we have, we are ready to carry out any order of the Supreme Command and president of the republic.

Weekly Cited on Dismissal of Generals

93BA0407E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by TANJUG: "The Croatian War Option"]

[Text] Zagreb—The Zagreb weekly GLOBUS has written in its most recent issue that some 100 officers of the Croatian Army have been retired or relieved of their duties in the last two months.

In the assessment of the Zagreb weekly, the main reason for the retirement, dismissal, and appointments in the last two months has been the "desire of the right wing of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] to remove from the top military leadership all former high-level officers of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]." That tendency was especially manifested in the first wave of retirement, which took away Spegelj, Jelic, and Gorinsek. Of General Tus, GLOBUS says that he was removed when he "resolutely opposed placing the Croatian Army under the command of the Defense Ministry, headed by Gojko Susak."

One of the causes of the changes in the Croatian Army are "Croatia's preparations to end the political crisis by adopting the war option," the newspaper says and warns that such interpretations expressed by observers are "only partially true." The military option, it says, "is being seriously mentioned only in the context of a joint action of Croatia and certain allied countries" and Croatia is trying to establish certain "strong military alliances."

Changes in Croatian Local Self-Management

93BA0407A Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Z. Duka: "450 Opstinas in Croatia!"]

[Text] Zagreb—The Government of the Republic of Croatia yesterday approved the final drafts of the proposed versions of four laws—on the territory of the zupanijas, cities, and opstinas in the Republic of Croatia, the Law on Local Self-Government and Administration, the Law on Election of Representative Bodies of Units of Local Self-Government, and the Draft of the Final Version of the Law on the City of Zagreb.

In addition to the 20 zupanijas proposed earlier, another is being proposed—the city of Zagreb. The structure of political administration and local self-government in the city of Zagreb will be identical to all other zupanijas, but the Zagreb Zupanija with its seat in Zagreb, from which the city of Zagreb itself will be excluded, also remains in the final version. Almost the entire area of the present Zagreb remains in the city of Zagreb, but without Samobor and parts of former Velika Gorica, Zaprekic, and Sesvete Opstinas.

The final proposed version of the laws envisage 51 cities in Croatia that would be centers for political administration; that is, another 30 cities in addition to the zupanija seats. That is, exceptional historical and economic reasons permit cities which have fewer than 10,000 inhabitants to be cities in that administrative sense. According to the present proposals, Croatia would have about 450 opstinas.

Rather large changes are envisaged in the structure and election of representatives of local authorities. The zupanija assembly would elect its president, whose function would in practice be that of chairing and directing the zupanija assembly. But it would also elect a zupan, whose election would require confirmation of the president of the republic, and on the recommendation of the Government of the Republic of Croatia the zupan would propose the zupanija administration (poglavarstvo) as a body of executive authority in the zupanija, and his proposal would be subject to approval of the zupanija assembly. This also applies to the city of Zagreb as a zupanija. The assembly of the city of Zagreb, then, would elect the president of the city's assembly, but also another individual to be mayor of the city of Zagreb as the holder of executive authority in the city.

The mayor and the heads of the opstinas would be elected by the city and opstina councils, respectively, but their choice would be subject to confirmation of the zupan of the zupanija in which those cities and opstinas are located.

Zupanijas, cities, and opstinas will also have a certain number of revenues of their own which they will be able to collect with their own taxes, and this is also a change from the earlier proposal.

It is almost certain that just one more session of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia will be held 4 and 5 January. The government, as the sponsor of the four laws on local self-government, envisages that they will be adopted before 30 December. But two more proposed pieces of legislation—the Law on Election Units for the Zupanija Chamber of the Assembly and the Law on Election Units for Representative Bodies of Units of Local Self-Government—have to be drafted very urgently on the basis of those laws, once adopted. Only those two laws make it possible to hold elections for the Zupanija Chamber of the Assembly and local elections by the date envisaged—7 February 1993.

Christian, Liberal Democrats Jockey for Position

93BA0423B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Dec 92 p 2

[Article by Vinko Vasle: "More and More Disagreements Between the Christian Democrats and the LDS"]

[Text] *The SKD [Slovene Christian Democrats] is worriedly wondering why the LDS [Liberal Democratic Party] is trying to seize all the more important and powerful positions; since the first day after the elections, Janez Drnovsek has been offering Peterle the leadership of the State Assembly.*

Ljubljana, 27 Dec—The LDS, by assuming the highest positions in the State Assembly and the State Council, announced the transfer of power in its own way. If we also add to this the fact that Janez Drnovsek will be the prime minister-designate for putting together the new government, and that the LDS also obtained the chairmanship of one of the most important commissions (for elections and appointments), then it is hard to get rid of the impression of the complete authority of one party.

Drnovsek's party has thus not only assumed the benefits of rule and authority, but also a considerable risk. The party that controls all the more important levers of power will also objectively be most responsible in the future for the situation in the country. What is happening behind the scenes in the party is more than interesting, of course, especially since on the day of the first session of the State Assembly the SKD surprised the LDS and Janez Drnovsek by still proposing Lojze Peterle for State Assembly chairman. According to one alternative, which Janez Drnovsek also obviously supports, the Christian Democrats estimated that it was better to have Peterle be a candidate for the chairmanship of the State Assembly, since in view of the complications in putting together a ruling coalition he could be left without any position at all. Lojze Peterle, in fact, announced some time ago that he was competing for the position of foreign minister in the future government. Bavcar's Democrats also want that ministry, however, and in view of the complications between Drnovsek and them because of Drnovsek's unilateral announcement of the beginning of the unification of the LDS and the Democrats, the Democrats are still a strong coalition partner. On the other hand, the LDS wants the Christian Democrats to put someone else forward as a candidate for the position of foreign minister. Most often mentioned is the name of Ivo Bizjak, but this could cause friction and disagreements within the SKD itself and within its leadership. To be sure, Bizjak's name is being mentioned in connection with various government positions. An answer would also be interesting as to why Lojze Peterle should actually be the one to assume the position of chairman of the State Assembly, and the initiative for this came from the LDS and Janez Drnovsek. Some experts on the political party situation behind the scenes think that it was an attempt to "pacify" a future coalition that would also include the Christian Democrats. The SKD would thus be left out of any agreements on dividing up ministerial positions, with the argument that they already controlled one branch of government. Furthermore, the Liberal Democrats are not even hiding the fact that they do not want Peterle in the government very much.

Rigelnik's Candidacy Reportedly Could Not Be Withdrawn

Janez Drnovsek responded to Peterle's public statement that the LDS intended to take over all the key positions, contrary to democratic rules, with a public communique. In it he said, among other things, that virtually since the first day after the elections he had been offering Peterle the leadership of the State Assembly, since the LDS, as the largest party, would be a candidate for the mandate for putting together the government.

"Mr. Lojze Peterle has continually rejected these offers. In doing so he has advocated a system in which the leading positions in the State Assembly would be divided among the three parties with the most deputy seats, i.e., the position of chairman would be received by the largest one, i.e., the LDS, and the SKD and the United List would get both of the vice chairman positions."

On the evening of Tuesday, 22 December, before the State Assembly session, such an agreement was also approved at a meeting of the presidents of the five parliamentary parties (the LDS, SKD, United List, the Democrats, and the SDSS [Social Democratic Party of Slovenia]), and it was not made conditional upon specific names for the individual positions, according to Drnovsek.

"On that occasion Mr. Peterle, in response to my explicit question as to whether it was his position that he would not assume the position of chairman, he finally answered in the affirmative. It was thus only on Wednesday morning that the LDS deputies' club, at its last meeting before the session, specified its candidate for chairman of the State Assembly, Herman Rigelnik, who, as the deputy with the second best electoral result, also expressed his personal preference for involvement in the parliament. At 1000, at the very beginning of the meeting, Mr. Peterle, after becoming acquainted with the name of the candidate, once again confirmed the agreement from the previous evening. In the afternoon he changed his mind, announced his candidacy, and stated that he was withdrawing from the concluded agreement," Janez Drnovsek explained.

At that time Peterle is also supposed to have said that the Christian Democrats would support Rigelnik's candidacy if both parties—the LDS and the SKD—immediately formed a coalition; Drnovsek did not agree to this because at that time it would have been at best a minority coalition. Drnovsek also added that later on Rigelnik's candidacy could not be withdrawn, for the sake of the internal credibility and integrity of the LDS.

Lojze Peterle is not denying the statements that Drnovsek made in his public communique, but he says

that Drnovsek left out an important argument that convinced the Christian Democrats' deputies' club during the State Assembly session to have the party itself a candidate for the position of State Assembly chairman.

The State Council Is Only Performing an Oversight Function

"We in the party adhered to the agreement concluded by the five parties the previous evening as long as we did not know the result of the elections in the State Council. When we found out that Dr. Ivan Kristan, who is likewise from the ranks of the Liberal Democrats, had assumed the chairmanship of the Council, it justifiably seemed to us that the LDS would now take over the chairmanship of the State Assembly as well. The State Council is nevertheless an institution that performs an oversight function with respect to the State Assembly, and consequently that is not unimportant when we speak of the division of authority. Our deputies' club therefore decided in the afternoon that it would nevertheless nominate me for the chairmanship of the State Assembly, since we in the club thought that it would benefit democracy. Certainly I do not know of any instance in the world in which personnel from the state party would perform the highest functions of legislative, executive, and oversight authority," Lojze Peterle said.

The Disagreements Between the LDS and the SKD Are Increasing

In response to a question about how this whole incident would affect the continuation of the coalition agreements, Peterle answered that the SKD council would meet on Tuesday, study the new situation, and decide how to proceed.

"I can say, however, that we in the party are not only concerned about the fact that one party, even though it received a relative majority of the deputies' seats in the elections, is trying to seize all the most important state and government positions! We are also receiving negative reactions from the field, and people, especially our membership, are wondering what is actually happening. They are consequently justifiable concerned!"

The disagreements between the LDS and the SKD are therefore increasing, although Janez Drnovsek claimed just a few days ago that there were no major disagreements between the parties with respect to their programs, which was also allegedly confirmed a while ago by economic experts from both parties.

"It is true that we have already conducted part of the so-called economic talks," said Lojze Peterle, "but without papers, since we have not yet received a single program from the LDS. I do not imagine that we could put together a coalition in advance, divide up the ministerial seats, and only then prepare a joint, i.e., a coalition government program! It is simply not possible, and that is why I expect that Drnovsek will provide us with a serious economic, social, ecological, and foreign policy program for his government," Lojze Peterle thought.

Peoples' Party Proposes Right-Wing Coalition

AU0701182693 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Report by Nadja Pengov]

[Text] After talks with President Kucan and Dr. Drnovsek, the Slovene Peoples' Party came to the conclusion that all speculation concerning the formation of the new Slovene government tends toward the left. As the party wishes to strengthen its active role, it has decided to suggest a coalition of right-wing parties and today sent a proposal for a government coalition agreement to five parliamentary parties. The letter was sent to the Christian Democrats, the Slovene National Party, the Greens of Slovenia, the Social Democratic Party, and the Democratic Party. The letter contains the proposal for an agreement on a new Slovene government.

Drnovsek's Liberal Democratic Party, which insists on a coalition with the United List, and which, they said, is striving to give the impression on the Slovene political scene that there is no alternative to the center-left coalition, was not included.

It was said that the Slovene Peoples' Party is also wiling to assume its share of responsibility for the future of the Slovene state, but not in combination with parties with whom, as is already evident, it would not be possible to realize a joint program. Dr. Drnovsek was informed of the party's proposal, but he did not make a comment on it. Replies from the five parliamentary parties to the proposal for a new center-right coalition are expected by 11 January at the latest. When asked whether any of the parties has already taken a position toward the offer, no answer was given. What was said was just that many parties were still in a quandary as to what to do. The party also expects that the Christian Democrats will officially support today's proposal.

Marjan Podobnik, leader of the People's Party, said that neither his party nor, to his knowledge, the Christian Democrats had come to a consensus on a new prime minister-designate, so, despite today's news conference by President Kucan, they thought that the possibility of a new prime minister-designate could not be ruled out.

President Proposes Drnovsek for Prime Minister

AU0701193593 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Excerpts] In accordance with his legal powers, President Milan Kucan in a letter to State Chamber Chairman Herman Rigelnik proposed Dr. Janez Drnovsek as a candidate for prime minister-designate.

At a news conference, Milan Kucan also spoke of his talks with party leaders and their deputies, as well as

other issues concerning the formation of the new government. Bojan Veselinovic reports:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Kucan] Regardless of the fact that support [for Dr. Drnovsek] is not unreserved, but is linked to the subsequent prime minister-designate's talks on the coalition agreement, program directives, law on government, and some cadre issues, I believe that Dr. Drnovsek will be able to form a new government with the necessary support from parliament. [passage omitted]

[Veselinovic] When asked if it bothered him that the coalition agreement had not been signed when he decided to propose Drnovsek as the candidate for prime minister-designate, Milan Kucan replied that his task was to find a candidate that would most likely succeed in winning the necessary support. [passage omitted]

If the grand coalition proves impossible, President Kucan said, I expect that the parties outside the coalition will, nevertheless, constructively cooperate in the realization of the government program. In talks with the representatives of the parties, I did not favor the center-left or center-right coalition. However, I was examining the possibilities for the formation of the grand coalition the whole time, Kucan said. [passage omitted] [end recording]

EC Chairman Holds Talks With Leaders

AU0601164493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] EC chairman and Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen is visiting Slovenia today. He was received by President Milan Kucan and Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek. Ellemann-Jensen also held talks with Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel. Tomaz Gerden summarized the statements by both ministers:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] I am here on behalf of the EC, although not to negotiate because negotiations are taking place in Geneva, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said at the beginning of his statement. The purpose of the visit is to exchange views on the Geneva negotiations and examine relations between Slovenia and the EC. The Danish foreign minister believes that Slovenia has accomplished an important, positive development in the economy despite the problems that it has faced. He spoke about closer contacts between the EC and Slovenia and new affiliations that would allow for better cooperation.

Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel gave the following statement:

[Rupel] The Slovene Government and Foreign Ministry view the visit of the Danish foreign minister and EC chairman as very important. We spoke of our relations with the EC and assessed the possibilities for closer cooperation at all three meetings today. It is in Slovenia's particular interest that cooperation with the EC evolves from the trade and cooperation agreement to that of association—that is, the associate membership—as quickly as possible.

[Gerden] Dr. Rupel stressed that we would like to be welcome in the EC and that we will not impose ourselves upon it. We will coordinate our activities with the Visegrad Group. Our country shares slightly different views than the EC on the resolving of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. However, Minister Ellemann-Jensen said that the Serbs will be told very clearly to accept a peaceful solution to the crisis. In the name of his country, he spoke in favor of Macedonia's recognition. Dr. Rupel invited the Danish foreign minister to pay a longer visit to Slovenia.

Immediately after the talks, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen left for Zagreb. [end recording]

Diplomatic Relations Established With Canada

AU0801094093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] The Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs sent a special note informing the Slovene Foreign Ministry that, in light of the proposal by our foreign minister, it accepts the initiative to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries. An agreement on this becomes effective immediately.

The embassies of the two countries in Vienna will maintain the contacts between the two states. Canada has thus established diplomatic relations with Slovenia, although it continues to be reserved toward other countries in the former Yugoslavia.

Federal

Makeup of Federal Assembly Chamber of Citizens

93BA0426B Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by G. Katic: "Chamber of Citizens of FRY Assembly: 52 Known Deputies"]

[Text] *The largest number of seats in the Chamber of Citizens of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Assembly was captured by the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] (47), followed by the SRS [Serbian Radical Party] with 34, DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] with 20, the DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists] of Montenegro with 17, the DS [Democratic Party] and SP [Socialist Party] of Montenegro with five each, the NS [People's Party] of Montenegro with four, the DZVM [Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians] with three, the DS [Democratic Party] in a coalition with the RDSV [Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina] with two, and in a coalition with the RDS [Reformist Democratic Party] with one seat.*

The Socialist Party of Serbia captured the largest number of seats, as many as 75, but for now the names of only one-third of the people who are certain to be deputies are known, and they are: Vladislav Jovanovic and Goran Percevic (Belgrade), Radoman Bozovic (Zrenjanin), Borisav Jovic and Djordje Djukic (Kragujevac), Ivica Dacic and Dragomir Tomic (Leskovac), Mile Ilic and Danilo Z. Markovic (Nis), Jovan Radic and Bosko Perosevic (Novi Sad), Tomislav Sekulic and Zivorad Igic (Pristina), Ratko Markovic and Veljko Albunovic (Smederevo), Milomir Minic and Radenko Stepic (Uzice). If the SPS sticks to the list put forward for the election, they will be joined in the Assembly by: Branislav Crucevic, Milovan Vitezovic, Zivadin Mihailovic, and Milos Banicevic in Belgrade, Dana Marjanovic and Radomir Popovic in Zrenjanin, Srdjan Petrovic, Predrag Galovic, and Vasilije Vasiljevic in Kragujevac, Milan Stamenkovic, Djura Lazic, Vlatko Petkovic, Miomir Stojanovic, and Milomir Aksentijevic in Leskovac, Aleksandar Kamenkovic, Slobodan Ciric, and Filip Vukovic in Nis, Nedeljko Sipovac, Mirko Stupar, and Slavko Gordic in Novi Sad, Vojslav Popovic, Krsta Tanaskovic, Zejnel Zejneli, and Vukasin Jokanovic in Pristina, Vladimir Todorovic, Miladin Aleksic, and Branislav Milanovic in Smederevo, and Petar Lucic, Dragan Markovic, and Radojko Petric in Uzice.

The Serbian Radical Party will have 34 deputies, four of whom are from the SRS of Montenegro. Already in the Chamber of Citizens are: Vojislav Seselj and Slobodan Stanic (Belgrade), Jovan Glamocanin (Zrenjanin), Milan Bacevic (Kragujevac), Borivoje Kostic (Leskovac), Stanoje Djordjevic (Nis), Maja Gojkovic (Novi Sad), Milorad Jevric (Pristina), Ratko Marcetic (Smederevo), Novak Savic (Uzice), and Radovan Vukcevic from the SR [as published] of Montenegro. According to that party's list, the other SRS deputies should be: Djordje Tanic, Petar Dimovic, and Drasko Markovic from Belgrade, Branislav Blazic and Dragan Milinko (Zrenjanin), Pantelija Milicic, Jovan Savic, and Milan Veselinovic (Kragujevac), Zvonko Krstic, Filip Stojanovic, and Milija Janicijovic (Leskovac), Zoran Krasic (Nis), Milorad Crnjanin and Miroslav Jovanic (Novi Sad), Ranko Babic, Rade Trajkovic, and Zoran Djurovic (Pristina), Danilo Golubovic (Smederevo), Zoran Tesovic and Cedomir Vasiljevic (Uzice), and Milija Pavicevic, Dusan Boskovic, and Milika Ceko Dacevic from the SRS of Montenegro.

In third place, with 20 seats captured, is DEPOS. The following are in parliament: Slobodan Rakitic, Pavel Nikolic (Belgrade), Milan Komnenic (Zrenjanin), Mihajlo Markovic (Kragujevac), Pavle Premovic (Nis), Vojislav Nedeljkovic (Novi Sad), Dragoslav Milicic (Smederevo), and Jovan Tomic (Uzice). According to the list, they should be joined by: Milorad Savicevic, Vladimir Gajic, Strakinja Kastratovic, and Radmilo Roncevic in Belgrade, Dusan Curcin in Zrenjanin, Radenko Jokovic and Jeroslav Zivadinovic in Kragujevac, Dragoje Lukovic in Nis, Jovan Babic in Novi Sad, and Obren Joksimovic in Smederevo, Miroslav Stefanovic and Zoran Cirkovic in Uzice.

Next, based on the 17 seats captured, is the Democratic Party of Montenegro. Five certain deputies are: Svetozar Marovic, Milan Gajovic, Blagoje Cerovic, Zeljko Sturanovic, and Drago Sofranac. They will most likely be joined by: Damjan Beckovic, Gojko Jankovic, Momcilo Bojovic, Milos Bojovic, Milan Mijo Kljajevic, Velimir Djurdjevic, Milorad Nikocevic, Andrija Perisic, Dragan Koprivica, Dragan Braunovic, Djordjije Zivkovic, and Dragan Djarovic.

The Democratic Party captured five deputy seats. The following people are in parliament: Dragoljub Micunovic (Belgrade), Djordje Zecevic (Smederevo), and Dragan Domatet (Nis). They will probably be joined by Desimir Tosic and Ivan Vujacic (Belgrade).

The Socialist Party of Montenegro also has five seats. In the federal chamber are: Ljubisa Stankovic and Rade Bojovic, and according to the list they will be joined by Srdjan Darmanovic, Ranko Krivokapic, and Vajica Lazovic. Four seats were captured by the People's Party of Montenegro. A certain deputy is Novica Stanic, and it is assumed that he will be joined by Momir Vojvodic, Radonja Sekovic, and Vojislav Dragovic. The Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians has three deputies: Bela Corba, Caba Sersel, and, most likely, Jozef Laslo. The DS-RSV coalition has two deputies, Tibora Varadija and Miroljuba Labusa. And the DS-RDS coalition has one deputy, Veselj Meta.

Serbia

Vance, Owen Suggest Milosevic Attend Talks

LD0701172993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 7 (TANJUG)—Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, the cochairmen of the Geneva

conference on the former Yugoslavia, want to include Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in the January 10 round of negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Geneva, their spokesman Fred Eckhard said on Thursday [7 January].

News agencies cited Eckhard as saying that Vance and Owen sent a message to Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic asking him what he thought about the idea to include Milosevic in Sunday's talks.

The agencies noted this was the first time Vance and Owen tried to include the Serbian president in the negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina which began four months ago.

Vance and Owen met with Cosic and Milosevic in Belgrade on Wednesday and discussed the Geneva talks on the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina began in Geneva on January 2 and will continue on January 10. They will be attended by the military and political leaders of the three warring sides (Moslems, Serbs and Croats) in Bosnia-Hercegovina as well as representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia.

Patriarch Warns Serbs Against Hatred, Violence

LD0701153093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Serbian Patriarch Pavle today celebrated the main Christmas mass in the church of the Archangel Gabriel in the Topcider district of Belgrade today.

The mass was dominated by prayers for peace and the salvation of the Serbian people, and prayers that all foes will return to their senses, refrain from killing, and stop destroying Serbian holy places and churches.

Following the mass, priest Zarko Gavrilovic read Patriarch Pavle's Christmas message to the Serbian people. The message stresses:

"We are filled with shame, brothers and sisters, because we are less ready than ever before in our history to welcome the holy visitor. Our region is poisoned with gunpowder, the smell of blood, and the cries of undiscovered and unburied bones on battlefields. There is not enough black cloth needed for mourning."

This shows, the message says, "that there are still many people among us whose life is spiritually empty and full of base passions and urges. Such people are causes of many tragedies in the world."

"The consequences and final results of this," the message says, "are the horrors of Pakrac, Vukovar, Sarajevo, Majevica, Bosanski Brod, and many other towns and villages, and tens of thousands of displaced people and refugees, who are hungry, thirsty, without clothing and shoes, without homes in this cold weather."

Patriarch Pavle says in the Christmas message that the root of hatred and violence "lies in the fact that only lip service is paid to proclaimed humanitarian principles, whereas people's hearts still cling to the old belief that one can be more useful to oneself and to one's nation by doing evil than by doing good, that one has the right to use the same means as criminals to defend oneself and one's nation from criminals and crime, and that one can prosper only if another suffers."

In his message, the patriarch warns: "He who says that it is better to make another's mother cry forgets that the other's mother and his own mother are both mothers; both the one who kills and the one who is killed are unfortunate brothers. Both mothers are wretched, both nations are accursed."

"We, as people of religion, as Christians, know that those who commit crime and behave inhumanely are godless, no matter what kind of cap, uniform, or badge they wear," the message says.

The message further stresses that this Christmas, more than ever before, we must repent, forgive, and make friends again, "for if we, the adults, cannot do it, thousands of war orphans, who in their souls already feel the lack of brotherly love among the older generation, will begin to cry in despair."

The patriarch ends his message with the greeting: "Peace be to God, Christ is born."

Besides many believers, the Christmas liturgy in the Church of the Archangel Gabriel was also attended by Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic and by the French philosopher and humanist Daniel Salvatore Schieffer.

Although in previous years the liturgy was always attended by representatives of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and by republic and city authorities, no political personality was observed in the church today.

Seselj 'Astounded' by Cosic Address

AU0701204393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] In connection with last night's address to the nation by Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], Dr. Vojislav Seselj gave the following statement for Belgrade television:

I was astounded by yesterday's performance by President Cosic. I can hardly imagine any other world leader would have tried to spread so much panic among his own people. The ideology of fatalism, which has overwhelmed him, has in fact a dishonorable motive—to impress the feeling of capitulation onto the people. We have been exposed to threats and blackmail for over two years now and we have resisted them as we should do in

the future. Panic-ridden statesmen should step aside and leave state business to level-headed ones who can boldly face all danger.

Dobrica Cosic is again meddling with political alchemy. Dissatisfied with the results of the elections and the defeat of his proteges, instead of fulfilling his election promise, Cosic interprets the outcome of the elections as the result of the ignorance and stupidity of the people. The people are not ignorant. The people are not stupid. The people did not allow themselves to be deceived by any kind of demagoguery, and those who have exposed themselves as ignorant of their own people should not be in politics.

Cosic continues to violate the Constitution. He gives himself the authority that does not belong to him by any constitutional stipulation. We made a mistake in offering him the function of FRY president. That lost us an excellent writer and gave us a poor politician. The best thing would be for Dobrica Cosic to return to his books, says the statement by Vojislav Seselj.

Man on List of War Crime Suspects Enters Assembly

AU0801095593 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 92 p 7

[Report by R. Pavlovic on an interview with Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, commander of the Serbian Volunteer Guard; place and date not given: "I Am Being Chased by American Communists"]

[Text] In the political measuring of strength on 20 December, Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan smoothly entered the republic Parliament. He took five seats in the Serbian Parliament, only two less than the Democratic party, a fact that he proudly stresses. Arkan did not offer any platform. "My platform is a platform of patriotism," he says briefly. However, he adds that he promised people neither dinars, nor dollars, nor California. He only told them that he would defend them if Albanians were to start brandishing their swords. He addressed the Serbs from Kosovo, where his campaign was based promising them that he would not betray them in the Parliament, just as he had not betrayed the Serbs at the front. "I am not going to sit back in the Parliament. I am going to fight there like a man. I shall accept any initiative that is not treacherous." According to Raznatovic, treachery is everything that is opposed to the creation of the United Serbian States. He says that he does not want to live in "the stub of a burnt-out Yugoslavia. If Slovenes, Croats, and Moslems were able to create their own states, if the Germans were able to unite, why should the Serbs not be able to unite as well? Such a state has to be named the United Serbian States (USS)."

Our interviewee leaves the topic of high level policy, and returns to what he considers to be his field of expertise: the army. The commander of the Serbian Volunteer Guard, the Serbian "tigers," who mainly operated throughout Slavonia, will mediate in setting up a professional Serbian army. When he was recruiting thousands of volunteers in the "tigers'" drilling center in Erdut, he used to say that the biggest obstacle in the Yugoslav People's Army was incompetent generals. Now he says that there will be no place for the officers of the Yugoslav Army who did not prove themselves patriots. When he is discussing his plans regarding the political waters ("we are amateurs in this business; there is no party backing us up, nor is there anyone financing us"), Raznatovic appears to be very self-confident. If you ask him to comment on the recent elections, and the stories of setups and phony results, he will answer with a smile—"the elections were conducted in a democratic spirit, they were fair and honest." However, the future representative in the parliament becomes annoyed as soon as the talk turns toward war crimes. He explains the fact that his name finds itself on the list of war crime suspects he explains as follows: "Mr. Eagleburger, American secretary of state, is a typical product of American policy, he is Tito's pioneer and has worked for him, an American communist. It is ridiculous that American communists are trying to teach me a lesson. Their biggest mistake is that they interfere in our politics and elections. We did not meddle when they elected Clinton." We go back to the local political scene. We ask him how it is that the cheerleader of "Delije" from the north of the "Crvena Zvezda" stadium, the owner of the confectionery shop "Ari," the first victim of the "young Croatian democracy" (of a 20 month sentence, he served six and a half), how is it that he is in politics now? Or more precisely, how has he come to try his hand in Pristina? Arkan answers that it was not his idea, but the idea of 25,000 Serbs living in Kosovo, who lodged a petition. "Kosovo is my birthplace, my relatives live there, so nothing has happened by chance. I would have won anywhere, except in towns like Subotica. And not only Serbs support me, although my campaign meetings were attended by only Serbs. More than 80 percent of the Gypsies voted for me." Raznatovic reminds us of how he amazed even the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. During his campaign, he used to walk freely, and visit places that are ethnically clean, and not very friendly to Serbs. Therefore the joke has been circulating ever since that Arkan won in Kosovo by imposing "shock therapy."

Other people say that one is only surprised if one does not know the "40-year-old baby-face," the man behind whose mysterious nickname there is a stormy biography and many unknown details ranging from a large part of his youth that was recorded in police files, his military rise, when he promised to "smash down the monument to Ban Jelacic, and to open a confectionery in the middle of Zagreb," details that shed light on his personality while he was the leader of "Delije," [notorious football fan club] an active participant when the people came to the fore of the political scene, to now being an ambitious entrepreneur who, apart from recently opening a chain of "Delite" offices, plans to open a chain of boutiques, and start a radio channel called "Delije".... Those who are going to help him accomplish his political aims in the

Serbian Assembly are as follows: Borislav Pelevic, economist from Belgrade; Dragisa Canovic, a Radio Pristina reporter; Ljubinko Jevtic, and Miodrag Karalic, a businessman from Pristina. This was his choice.

Milosevic Receives Ukrainian Delegation

LD0701184393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received a delegation of the Ukrainian parliament, composed of a number of prominent Ukrainian scientists and businessmen.

According to a statement from the office of the Serbian president, the talks passed in a cordial atmosphere and particularly examined the development of economic cooperation between Serbia and Ukraine.

The Ukrainian parliamentarians told President Milosevic that the Ukrainian side is interested in the improvement of economic relations in accordance with the mutual objective in order to secure closer cooperation between economic subjects, particularly in the sphere of agriculture and certain industrial branches.

A statement from the office of the Republican president says that during the talks the Ukrainian guests expressed their interest in issues of a political settlement to the Yugoslav crisis. It was stressed that the Republic of Serbia has been pursuing a policy of peace and urges the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina be resolved by a tripartite agreement, on the basis of equality, and the equal protection of rights and interests of all three constitutive nations.

It was also stressed that the embargo imposed on Serbia is an expression of the policy of force in international relations, which is opposed by those states and nations whose aspiration is the cooperation on equal basis.

It is of paramount importance for the Republic of Serbia that conditions are created for the emergence of the truth, because the public information media inflicts serious damage on Serbia by withholding the truth. The Republic of Serbia therefore wishes that facts in connection with the real state of affairs, the causes and consequences of the Yugoslav crisis, find their place within the international public in order to eliminate unfounded accusations against the Republic of Serbia, the statement says.

It was noted in the talks that closeness and friendship between Serbia and Ukraine exist which are based on their joint battle in World War II. From this friendship springs the need for the deepening of comprehensive relations and cooperation, and also for the opening of diplomatic missions in Belgrade and Kiev, which will surely encourage the development of relations between Serbia and Ukraine.

The talks were also attended by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and representatives of the Braca Karic Company, which has attained successful business cooperation with its partners in Ukraine, the statement concludes.

Al-Qadhdhafi Said To Advise Muslims Against War

LD0801102893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0919 GMT 8 Jan 93

Belgrade, Jan 8 (TANJUG)—Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi maintains that Moslems in former Yugoslavia and Europe as a whole "cannot achieve any good for themselves and their environment through war," Belgrade Mufti Hamdija Jusufspahic has said.

In a statement to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES after a visit to Libya by a five-man delegation of the Islamic religious community of Yugoslavia, Jusufspahic quoted al-Qadhdhafi as saying that disputes cannot be resolved by military means or interventions.

In his conversation with the delegation, al-Qadhdhafi said he had long before advised Yugoslavia's Moslems against going to war, Jusufspahic said.

He also quoted al-Qadhdhafi as saying that Libya sought to preserve its traditionally friendly and good ties with the other Yugoslav peoples, and with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which, al-Qadhdhafi said, would be in the interest of all Moslems living in the region.

"Tripoli immediately decided to extend hospitality to the over one thousand mothers and children who were in Libya at the moment the war broke out as members of the families of workers from the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina," Jusufspahic said.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has for over nine months been the scene of an ethnic, civil and religious war between its local Moslems and (Catholic) Croats, assisted by regular army troops from neighbouring Croatia, and the local (Orthodox) Serbs.

The conflict escalated after the European Community on April 7 last year recognized the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the request of its Moslems (44 per cent of the overall population) and Croats (17 per cent) and against the wishes of the Serbs, who make up 31 per cent of its population.

Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic has on a number of occasions demanded that the Western countries intervene militarily against the Bosnian Serbs.

Macedonia

Gligorov Announces Application for UN Membership

AU0701143093 Paris AFP in English 1420 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 7 (AFP)—The former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia formally applied for U.N. membership Thursday [7 January] after months of failed efforts to gain international recognition, its President Kiro Gligorov said here.

"Our formal application is going to be sent to the Security Council today," Gligorov announced after meeting here with Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia.

The Security Council must examine the application before submitting it to the U.N. General Assembly.

International recognition of Macedonia has been blocked by the European Community's refusal to override Greek objections to such a move. Athens opposes recognition of the former Yugoslav republic under the name Macedonia, which is also the name of a Greek province.

Earlier Thursday a first group of 80 Canadian soldiers with the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia took up positions in northern Macedonia near the Serbian border as part of an operation designed to prevent an outbreak of ethnic unrest, a U.N. spokesman in the capital Skopje said.

Allan Roberts added that 80 more Canadians were to be stationed at Tetovo to keep watch on the border with Kosovo, the Serbian province with an ethnic Albanian majority. Tetovo, 60 kilometres (35 miles) from the Macedonian capital, also has an Albanian majority.

The arrival of UNPROFOR units is part of preventive diplomacy ordered by the Security Council after Macedonia asked for U.N. troops and civilian and military observers as a means to avoid being dragged into war with Serbia.

The Canadian contingent is due to be replaced in mid-February by a 700-strong Scandinavian infantry battalion.

Denies Arbitration Needed

LD0701222393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2137 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Skopje, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said this evening on his return from Geneva that the international arbitration over the name of the Macedonian state proposed by French President Francois Mitterrand is not necessary. Gligorov had talks in Geneva with Cyrus Vance and David Owen, cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia.

In a statement for Macedonian Radio-Television, Gligorov said that the main topic of the talks was the process of the international recognition of this republic, particularly the latest French initiative on the formation of an international arbitration court to iron out the differences between Skopje and Athens over the name Macedonia.

Gligorov added that he told Vance and Owen that arbitration is not necessary, and that it would only delay the international recognition of Macedonia, particularly since the EC Commission headed by Robert Badinter previously established that the name Republic of Macedonia did not imply any territorial claims.

The cochairmen stated that it is necessary for Macedonia to supplement its application for UN membership with a guarantee that it has no territorial pretensions toward its neighbors. Gligorov explained that this has already been built into the republic constitution, and that it has not been difficult to agree to this demand.

He said that they have also given a positive response to the demand that a treaty with Greece on friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation should also be agreed on, which would be based on the principles on which the agreement between Germany and Poland was reached.

Gligorov said he doubts that there would be a veto on the Macedonian request, adding that nothing could be ruled out until the permanent members of the Security Council make their views known.

Energy Situation Worsens; Power Supplies Cut

LD0701181693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Skopje, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—The energy situation in Macedonia has worsened, and several-hours-long restrictions have been introduced. Electricity supplies in the capital are cut off in six areas in rotation. The reason for the introduction of restrictions is the increase in electricity consumption in the republic. The consumption has increased by as much as 70 percent above normal in some areas. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Lack of Oil Threatens Production of Aluminum

LD0701175493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Podgorica, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Montenegrin enterprises trading in crude oil will soon be able to sell crude oil only on the basis of a decree of the republic Energy Ministry. This arises from the government decision to limit the trade of oil derivatives adopted as a result of problems which citizens and legal entities have in getting crude oil. Because of the lack of crude oil, production in the aluminum combine has been brought

into question. Because of the lack of coking coal and other raw materials, several departments of this combine had to cut production by one-half.

Ecological Danger in Montenegro Examined

93BA0407F Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 30 Nov 92 p 18

[Text] Even Mr. Hans Zimmermann, high official of the United Nations, could not conceal his horror during a recent visit to the tailings dump in Mojkovac: "How is it that this facility has not been marked with a symbol for dangerous waste on any map, and it is located in Montenegro, which has been proclaimed to be an environmentally safe state?!" A disaster had to be prevented, and so the public was informed about the true measure of the danger from the tailings dump of the Brskovo Lead and Zinc Mine, located in the center of Mojkovac. Nevertheless, now the entire world is involved in preventing a disaster.

Millions of Cubic Meters

Mr. Hans Zimmermann escorted the first air transport of steel cages needed to repair the dam of the tailings dump, which was recently damaged over a length of about 100 meters during the disastrous floods of the raging Tara River. The European Community has approved an interventionary loan of $135,000, which is needed to repair the Mojkovac dam, and has for the moment cast in shadow the framework of the operation on the space of the former Yugoslavia, having now reached the front pages of the world media, where it is being described in strong terms. Assurances that the disaster will be prevented are arriving from Mojkovac, which is "occupied" by experts and foreign journalists. Probably inhabitants along the Drina, Sava, Danube, and Black Sea can breathe easy. In the Mojkovac tailings dump, there are about 3.5 million cubic meters of material dangerous to the entire animal and plant kingdom downstream. Meanwhile, can it be stated with certainty that a part of the tailings dump did not leak away into the swollen Tara?

The Ministry of the Environment of Montenegro is reporting every day that the water quality of the Tara is being monitored, but the announcement (on Thursday, 26 November) that the republic weather bureau is analyzing the water every day evoked a laugh from the experts, for the simple reason that that bureau does not have the equipment and experts to detect heavy metals in water.

The Devices Are Not Working

The battle for the Tara can undoubtedly be won, but this does not mean that the war will also be won, the experts say, until the tailings dump built 20 years ago right beside the Tara is removed once and for all. That job exceeds the capabilities of Montenegro and the remainder of Yugoslavia, and, it is quite certain, the world community will become involved in that, and actually it is already doing it. The fact that the tailings dump is dangerous is no secret at all to experts, nor indeed to diligent readers of VREME, because we have already devoted several articles to the environmental time bombs in Montenegro, especially in our 100th issue in connection with celebration of the anniversary of Montenegro being proclaimed an environmentally safe state. Back in 1990, a study was done on the quality of life of Mojkovac which cited the Brskovo Mine and its tailings dump. It was reported at that time that the "mine had a device for treating recycled water, but it mainly was not in operation."

Boron oil and sodium cyanide are used for separation of the ore by flotation, and hazardous substances drained into the tailings dump, often building still more hazardous compounds: mercury, arsenic, cadmium, lead, zinc, iron, manganese, various cyanides, sulfides, and so on. The tailings dump was not maintained according to regulation, it was not constantly covered with water which had a pH factor of 10 that would prevent hazardous substances from evaporating or being carried away by the wind.

A rapid rise of malignant growths of the respiratory organs of human beings has therefore already been observed, and hazardous particles have also been found in the flesh of livestock and agricultural products, and so it is quite certain that they have also ended up in the water of the Tara, although there is constant reference to the quality of its water being in the top category. Everything, however, has been kept silent, and it is certain that it would not have been known even now had it not been for the disastrous flood. It seems that was a misfortune for the Montenegrin government, which in the election campaign has not been boasting about proclamation of Montenegro as an environmentally safe state. Now, that is, there has been an estimate that up to the year 2000 one out of every three inhabitants of Mojkovac will suffer from one of the 180 diseases that belong to the group of malignant illnesses. That estimate has been known about for years, but a persistent silence has been maintained concerning that danger, and the government has done nothing toward additional security of the dam of the tailings dump against the kind of bad weather that has occurred recently.